

TRAILS OF TIBETAN PILGRIMS IN THE SUKUT VALLEY

BY

GIUSEPPE LUCCI

Member of the Royal Academy of Italy

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THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Part I. INTRODUCTION	1
Part II. TRANSLATION OF THE ITINERARY OF ORGYAN PA ...	41
Part III. TRAVELS OF STAG TS'AN RAS PA	65
Part IV. APPENDIX—TIBETAN TEXTS	87

Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley

PART I

INTRODUCTION

It is now accepted by all scholars that Uḍḍiyāna¹ must be located in the Swāt Valley: in fact I think that the view of my friend Benoytosh Bhattacharyya² who still identifies Uḍḍiyāna with the western part of Assam has but few supporters. But it must be admitted that our knowledge of the country in Buddhist times is very scanty; our only informants are in fact the Chinese pilgrims, but the description which they have left of the place is not very much detailed.³

It was left to Sir Aurel Stein to identify, in the course of his adventurous travels in the Swāt Valley, the various places referred to by the Chinese pilgrims and to describe

1 S. LÉVI, *Le catalogue des Yakṣas dans la Mahāmāyūri*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 19 ff.

2 *Buddhist Iconography*, p. xxii and *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 45. But cf. BAGCHI in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 580 ff.

3 Fa Hsien, *Records*, Legge's trans., p. 28; Yuan Chwang, (Hiouen-Tsang), *Memoires (Julien)*, I, 131 ff., CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les Tou-Kue occidentaux* (p. 128), *Sung Yun* in CHAVANNES, *Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra* (518-522 A. C.), *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient*, 1903, p. 379.

in a fascinating book⁴ the remains which have escaped destruction. The systematical exploration of this region is likely to contribute greatly to our knowledge of Buddhism and Oriental history. In fact, modern researches point to the great importance of the Swāt Valley; not only was it very near to the commercial routes linking India with Central Asia but it was considered⁵ as the birthplace of many rites and practices later on absorbed into Mahāyāna. There are many Tantras which were commonly acknowledged as having been first revealed in Uddiyāna. One of the most esoteric methods of Tāntric realisations relating chiefly to the cycle of the *ḍākinī* was even known as the Uddiyānakrama; the connection of the country with magic is alluded to in some Tāntric manuals which even to-day enjoy great popularity.

It is therefore desirable to have some better and more detailed information about a country to which our researches point as one of the most active centres of radiation of Hindu esoterism.

During my travels in western Tibet I was fortunate enough to find two texts which are a kind of itinerary of the Swāt Valley. We easily understand why this place became so famous as a kind of magic-land for many Tibetan pilgrims when we remember that it was considered to have been the birth-place of Padmasambhava. There are, in

4 *On Alexander's track to the Indus*, London, 1929.

5 TUCCI, *Some glosses upon the Guhyasamāja* in *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, III, p. 351 and *Indo-Tibetica* III, II, p. 79.

fact, besides India proper, other countries which greatly influenced the mystic literature of Tibet; when the intercourse with them became rare or came to an end for political reasons, those countries were transformed into a fairy-land of which the geographical and historical reality faded and decayed; one of them, is Śambhala and the other Orgyan, *viz.*, Uḍḍiyāna.

The various mystic revelations connected with the two countries were respectively accepted by two different schools; Orgyan, the country of Padmasambhava, and the place of the fairies (*dākinī*) became the holy land for the rñiñ ma pa, and, later on for the bKa' rgyud pa (specially for the sub-sects ḥBrug pa and Kar ma pa); Śambhala was, on the other hand, changed into a paradise for the ascetics initiated into the mysteries of Kālacakra still counting many adepts chiefly among the dGe lugs pa, *viz.*, the yellow sect. I think that Śambhala became popular in Tibet after Orgyan; that is the reason why we cannot find about it as much information as we can gather as regards Orgyan; nor do I know of any historical itinerary of that country. This seems to point to the fact that the mystic significance of Śambhala developed at a later time, when any real and direct connection with the country had come to an end and the Tibetans had only to rely upon the information to be gathered from the Vimalaprabhā or from the earlier commentators of the Kālacakra Tantra.⁶ Even the infor-

6 No great weight can be attached to a fragment published by LAUFER, *zur Buddhistischen Literatur der Uiguren, T'oung Pao*, 1907.

mation about the country of Śambhala which we gather from the commentary of mK 'as hgrub rje contains nothing but mythology.

The only itinerary which has come down to us, viz., the "Śam bha lai lam yig"⁷ by the famous third Pañ c'en bLa ma bLo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes (1740-1780), as I have shown elsewhere, gives the impression of being nothing more than a literary compilation largely based upon mythic and fantastic traditions. From all these facts we can draw the conclusion that the yellow sect composed its guides to Śambhala, viz., to the Kālacakra-paradise which had, in the meantime, become a supreme ideal for most of its followers, in order to possess the counterpart of the holy Orgyan of the rival schools. The country itself was no longer a geographical reality to be exactly located in some part of the world, it was somewhere in the north, but as to where, that was practically a mere hypothesis.

On the other hand we know of many itineraries to Orgyan. One is that of Buddhagupta,⁸ it is not very late,

p 401, which seems to have been influenced by the mythological ethnography of Central Asian countries as preserved in the Chinese compilations such as the Shan hai king. According to the Vimalaprabhā Śambhala would have been on the shore of the Sitā river, its chief place being Kalāpa

7 Edited and translated by GRUNWEDT, *Der Weg nach Sambhala, Sam bha lai lam yig—Abhand der Königl Bayerischen Ak der Wissenschaften*, München, 1915.

8 Upon his travels see TUCCI, *The sea and land travels of a Buddhist sādhu in the sixteenth century*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol VII, p 683. I avail myself of the opportunity which is here

but it shows that even as late as the XVIth century that part of Asia was still considered as a kind of holy place worth visiting by the few Buddhist adepts still surviving in India, in spite of the dangers which they were likely to meet on account of the risk of the journey itself and of the unfriendliness of the Muslims. According to Buddhagupta the country in his time was known under the name of Ghazni.

But he usually mentions the country under its traditional name, showing that Tibetan Orgyan is derived from Uḍḍiyāna, "on account," he says, "of the similarity of sound between ḍ and r." It must be mentioned in this connection that in Tibetan we are confronted with two forms of this name, some sources giving 'Orgyan' and some others 'Urgyan.' There is no doubt that both go back to a Sanskrit original: it is in fact known that in the Indian texts this country is called both Uḍḍiyāna and Oḍiyāna. The first seems, anyhow, to be the right one.

But there are two older itineraries to the same country and much more detailed: the similarity between some passages of these texts containing the description of the place and the narrative of Buddhagupta leaves me little

offered to me to correct a statement contained in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 235. I did not say in that paper that Potalaka is to be searched for in Madagascar, but that according to the tradition referred to by Buddhagupta, there was a time in India when Potala was located by some schools in that island and I insisted upon the fact that this localisation shifted from place to place "according to beliefs of the various communities and the spreading of the geographical knowledge."

doubt that Tāranātha had one of them under his eyes when he wrote the account of the travels of his master.

The two itineraries here studied are respectively that of Orgyan pa and that of sTag ts'an ras pa. Orgyan pa means in fact "the man of Orgyan" which implies that his travels were so famous that he was given the name of the miraculous country which he had been able to visit and whence he returned safe back to his fatherland.

He was the most prominent disciple of a *siddha* or *grub t'ob* who still enjoys a great renown all over Tibet, I mean rGod ts'an pa. The study of Tibetan chronology is still at its very beginning and it is therefore very difficult to fix the date of many Tibetan events, but fortunately some chronicles contain a short biography of Orgyan pa with certain chronological data which enable us to fix his age approximately.

The historical work I am referring to is the *C'os bbyun* by Pad ma dkar po, one of the most famous poly-graphs of Tibet and the greatest authority among the hBrug pa who call him 'nag dbaii,' the master of the speech.⁹

The inclusion of the biography of Orgyan pa in his chronicle depends on the fact that Orgyan pa belongs to the same *sampradāya*, viz., to the same mystic school as Pad ma dkar po, both being adepts of the hBrug pa sub-

⁹ The full title being *C'os bbyun bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i ŋin byed*. The biography of Orgyan pa is at p. 181.

sect, which has now its stronghold in Bhutān but is largely spread all over Tibet.

I subjoin the chief contents of the biography written by Pad ma dkar po. "Urgyan pa^{9a} was born in Go luñ in the territory of Zur ts'o. His father was called Jo p'an. His clan was that of rGyus.....

"At the age of seven he became a catechumen under rGod ts'aiñ pa who had gone to Bhuṭa. Then up to the age of sixteen he learned many tantras of the yoga class along with their liturgy such as the Kila, Hevajra and Vajrapāñi Tantras.....

"He became famous as a scholar who had no rivals in three branches of learning, viz., the explanation, the discussion and the composition; from his elder brother mDo sde dpal he heard the small commentary on the Prajñā. As to the *vinaya*, having looked at this, he found that his inclination towards this branch of learning was favourable; specially by a mere glance at the treatise upon the one hundred and one varieties of karman (*ekottarakarmaśataka*) he learned it by heart. At the age of twenty he was given various names by his masters, viz., that of mK'an po by Rin rtse of Bo doñ, that of Slob dpon by bSam gliñ pa of Zan, that of gSañ ston by the Ācārya bSod 'od pa, and he fully realized the meaning expressed by these names. He then received the title of Rin c'en dpal.

^{9a} Pad ma dkar po uses this form instead of the more common Orgyan pa.

"He made the vow of studying a single system for twelve years and of avoiding meat; he then perfected himself in the study of the Kālacakra according to the method of ḥGro at the school of Rin rtse of Bo doñ and according to the method of C'ag at the school of mDo sdē dpal of Go lun "

Then the biography narrates how he happened to meet ıGod ts'an pa, who was able to give him the supreme inspiration of the Kālacakra. "But he discovered also that he had no *karmic* connection with Śambhala but rather with Uigyan, therefore Uigyan pa resolved to start, first of all he remained for nine months in the northern desert and then he went to Tı se, the country of Maryul, Ga śa, Dsa lan dha ra. Then knowing that three of his five companions were not fit for the journey he dismissed them and leading with him dPal yes he went to Uigyan.....

"There he saw a mountain which is the self-born place of Heiuka which was formerly called Ka ma dho ka .

"He then wanted to return to Tibet in order to accompany dPal yes and on the way back traversing Kashmir he was chosen by a householder as the family *guru*.

"By his great merits he made his catechumen the king of mNa ris with the people round him. Then he went to Bodhgayā in India where the king gŚiñg tan can Rāmapāla was his benefactor and gave him the title of supreme master of the mystic assembly

"Then he went to China. On the way he met Karma pa who entrusted to him the charge of helping him in

transmitting the doctrine; in China he was invited by the king Go pā la, but after one year he returned; in fact he did not receive even a need¹. He passed away at the age of seventy."

• This biography gives therefore the following points of chronological fixity; he was the disciple of rGod ts'an pa, contemporary with a king of Bodhgayā, Rāmapāla by name, with a king of China called Go pā la and with the famous Tibetan reformer Karma-bakshi. The date of this last doctor is known, according to the chronological table published by Csoma de Koros and extracted from the Vaidūrya dkar po the date of his birth is to be fixed at 1200 d C' (Csoma 1202). As to the Emperor of China there is little doubt that his name has been modified so that it might assume an Indian form. It is quite clear that it corresponds to Kubilai Rāmapāla, king of Bodhgayā, was perhaps a petty chief of the place. Anyhow these chronological references are quite sufficient to establish the approximate date of our pilgrim. He must have lived in the XIIIth century. The fact that he was appointed by Karma-bakshi as his assistant while he was on the way to China seems to imply that Karma bakshi was already old. Otherwise, there would have been no need of entrusting the school and the teaching to a probable successor.

So it seems quite probable that the travel of our pilgrim to Orgyan took place after 1250. The itinerary of Orgyan pa is to be found in a biography of this Tibetan *sādhva* which I discovered in the library of the monastery of

Hemis when in 1930 I spent the summer there and under the guidance of the skugsögs s Tag ts'an ras pa had the rare opportunity of investigating the large collection of block prints and manuscripts that it contains.

This biography is preserved in a bulky manuscript on paper which is very old but incomplete. The work seems to be very rare. I never found mention of it in other monasteries which I visited; the biography of Orgyan pa is not even included in that vast collection which is the *dKar rgyud rnam t'ar sgron me* or at least in the copy¹⁰ which I possess.

This biography deserves special attention because it shows some peculiarities of its own; it has not been elaborated with literary pretensions; there are many terms in it which are absolutely colloquial, chiefly used in Western Tibet.

I cannot help thinking that this itinerary has not been revised; it looks like a first redaction of the narrative of the travel written by some disciples of Orgyan pa himself. Not rarely he speaks in the first person. This fact augments the interest of the book. Of course there is a great deal of legend even in it. But this cannot be avoided; there is hardly any doubt that Orgyan pa really believed many of the things which he told his disciples. We must not forget the special spiritual atmosphere in which these

¹⁰ *dKar rgyud rnam kyi rnam t'ar gyi sgron me*, *dkar rgyud* is here used for the more common *bka' rgyud*.

yogins live; boundaries between reality and pure imagination disappear. Whatever happens in this universe is not due to natural events fixed by certain laws, but is the product of multifarious forces which react upon one another. The most natural facts appear to the *grub t'ob* as the symbol or the manifestation of inner forces which, though unknown to the rest of the world, are no longer a mystery to him—or upon which he cannot have his hold through his psychic powers. We may laugh when we read that every woman he meets appears to him as a *dākinī*; but we must not forget the psychology of this pilgrim who had gone to the fairy land of the *dākinīs* in order to experience there those realizations to which the Tantras contained so many allusions. Anyhow these magical and fantastic elements are few in comparison with the traditional biographies (*rnam t'ar*) of the Tibetan saints; even in the short biography of Orgyan pa by Pad ma dkar po the historical and geographical data almost disappear under the growth of legends and dreams and visions. The greater the distance from the saint, the lesser the truth about him. The itinerary as it is has not been subject to this process. All this shows that the importance of the travels of our Tibetan pilgrim must not be denied. It is quite possibly an almost contemporary record of a journey to a country which was already considered as a magic land, and was seen through the eyes of a man who had no sight for reality. Still, we can follow quite well his track, from Tibet to Jalandhara, then to India, to the Indus, to the Swāt Valley, to the

sacred mountain of Ilam, and then back to Kashmir through the Hazara district.

There are some ethnological and historical data to be collected in these pages which are confirmed by Persian or European travellers.

They also show that at the time of the traveller Buddhism was still surviving in the Swāt Valley though Islam had already begun to eradicate its last trace.

In this way Orgyan pa renewed, as it were, the old tradition of the Lotsāvas who had gone to the sacred land of India in order to study there Sanskrit and to learn from the doctors of Nālandā or Vikramaśīlā the esoterism of the Tantras, of course, Buddhism had in the meantime lost in India its vital force and perhaps not very much work was left to the translators. But the contact with the holy land was still considered, as it is up to now among the Tibetans, to be purifying to the spirit and the cause of new inspirations. In the case of Orgyan pa it is quite possible that the travels of his master influenced him and led him to undertake the long journey to the far away country of Swāt. In fact we know that rGod ts'an pa went up to Jalandhara, which was another *pīṭha* according to the Buddhist tradition: It is one of the twenty-four places of Vajrakāya as located by the Tantras within the Himālayas. It also gave the name to a famous *siddha*, viz , Jalandhara-pa.¹¹

11 Cf TĀRANĀTHA, *Edelsteinmine*, p 59

The short biography of rGod ts'an pa in the *C'os hbyun* of Pad ma dkar po contains nothing more than the scanty information that he went to Jalandhara;¹² but I thought that perhaps in the original *rnam t'ar*, if any ever existed, it would have been possible to find a larger account of his travels.

In my journey of 1933 I discovered in Spiti a manuscript containing a large biography of this saint¹³ and, as I expected, I found that it has preserved from page 43 to page 53 the itinerary which he followed in his pilgrimage to the holy *tirtha*. Since it is rather detailed and fairly old, in as much it describes a journey which must have taken place in the first quarter of the XIIIth century, I think it to be worthy of notice. I therefore give a translation of all the passages containing some useful data. The text is also appended since manuscripts of this work are, I suppose not easily accessible. I add that only passages of geographical and historical interest have been translated, all portions containing mere legends or those devoid of any real importance have been suppressed.

— Though short, the text contains some useful information about the Himalayan countries and their ethnology

12 Even his biography which is contained as a separate chapter in the *dKar rgyud rnam* *kyi rnam t'ar gyi sgron me* and which bears the title *rGyal brgod ts'an pa'i rnam t'ar gnad bsdu pa'i sgron me* is far from being exhaustive

13 The full title is *rGyal ba rGod ts'an pa mgon po rdo rjei rnam t'ar mt'on ba don ldan nor bui p'ren ba*

It also shows that the area where Buddhism had penetrated was more or less similar to that of the present day.

Spiti was already a centre of Lamaism: in its mountains rGod ts'an pa finds many famous ascetics. Lāhul was Buddhist, but no outstanding personāliity was met by him: no mention is made of Trilokanāth, and the tribes of Mon pa—as he calls them—were rather unfriendly towards Buddhism.

Though he met a Buddhist Sādhu on the way back from Chambā, the people there seem to have been specially Hindu and rather orthodox. Anyhow it appears that they were not yet accustomed to seeing Tibetan pilgrims and were therefore not liberal towards them: things changed later on and at the time of sTag ts'an ras pa there was a regular intercourse between Jalandhara and Tibet as there is even now. There is hardly any doubt that this was chiefly due to the travels of Tibetan pilgrims of the *rDzogs c'en* and specially of *bKa rgyūd pa* sects who used to visit the sacred places of Buddhist tradition. After rGod ts'an pa their number must have considerably increased: to-day there is a regular intercourse along the routes and the track, of western Tibet.

From there they descend to the holy *tīrthas* of the Buddhist tradition, to Amritsar where the tank of the Golden Temple is believed to be the lake of Padmasambhava, to Bodhgayā, to Sārnāth. It was through these routes that there came down to the Indian plains the Lama who inspired some of the most fascinating pages in the *Kim*

of Rudyard Kipling. That was no fiction but a real happening; so I was told by Sir Aurel Stein in one of those interesting talks in which he pours as it were his unrivalled experience of things Asiatic.

• The inspiration came to Kipling from a holy man, a Tibetan *sādhū*, who many years ago came as far as Lahore and enquired from the father of the poet about the holy places to be visited in India. This Lama renewed the tradition of his ancient forerunners and was certainly unaware that he was to become one of the most interesting figures of modern literature. Rudyard was then still a boy, but so great was the impression he received on seeing the Himalayan-traveller that it never faded from his memory.

“From the country of *Žaṅ-žun* he went upwards. Along this route there is the holy place of Tretapuri¹⁴ which corresponds to the physical sphere in the list of the twenty-four places (of the Vajrakāya).¹⁵ It is also the place where three valleys meet¹⁶; there from the root of a high mountain, the river Gaṅgā flows downwards.¹⁷ Along its banks there are three divine abodes¹⁸ of Maheśvara.....He (*viz.*,

14 *Viz.*, Tūthapuri, of the maps on the right side of the Sutlej to the west of Kailasa. See below.

15 As to the mystic equivalence of these places see below.

16 The three valleys are that of the Sutlej, that of Missar and that of the river which flows into the Sutlej, to the south of Tūthapuri

17 Gaṅgā means of course the Sutlej.

18 Lha brten (Lha rten) is, in this case, rather “a divine abode” than temple: as I said elsewhere, every rock near the temple of Tirthapuri is supposed to be the abode of some god or Tāntric deity Tucci, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, p. 120.

rGod ts'an pa) remained there for a few days¹ and his mind and his good inclinations greatly developed; great is the benediction one gets in that place. Then proceeding downwards he went to Mañ nañ of Guge¹⁹ in the country of Zañ žun.²⁰ It was the residence of Atiśa and there is a miraculous spring. Then he went downwards to the temple mT'o ldiñ in Zañ žun where he saw the residence of Lha btsun Byañ c'ub 'od, etc.²¹ He went without hesitation through the big rivers, but his body enjoyed a very good health. Then, having crossed the whole country of Žaň žun he went to Spitī, where, above Bī lcogs,²² he met the great *Siddha* K'a rag pa who was unrivalled in the

19 Man nñ is to the south east of Ioling, it was the birth place of the lotsāva of Man nan, one of the pupils of Rin c'en bzau po. See TUCCI, *Rin c'en bzau po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet Occidentale intorno al mille—Indo Tibetica II*. I visited this place during my Tibetan expedition of 1935 and as I stated in the *Illustrated London News*, 28th January 1936, I found there three chapels in one of which splendid frescoes by Indian artists of the XIth century still exist. See TUCCI, *Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples, Artibus Asiae*, VII, p. 191.

20 Although, as a rule, Žan žun is considered to be a synonym of Guge, this passage seems to show that Žan žun had a wider extension and that Guge was merely a province of the same. The same fact is pointed out by the travels of sTag ts'an ras pa and by a very accurate biography of the Saskya chiefs which I found in Shipki. *Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par t'ar p no mts'ar snn ba*, p. 8, a pu ran, žan žun, glo bo, dol po, guge.

21 On Lha btsun Byan c'ub 'od, see TUCCI, *Rin c'en bzau po* etc., p. 17 ff.

22 Bilcogs is perhaps Pilche in the Lipak valley opposite Nako

meditation of the rDzogs c'en system and had been continually sitting in meditation crossed-legged for thirty years; rGod ts'añ pa asked him for the explanation of the law, but since he wanted some presents, he replied that being a beggar he had nothing to offer. The other then said that he could not impart any teaching. rGod ts'añ pa presented him mentally with the seven elements of worship²³ and the *siddha* then said that this was the best offering. He, then, imparted to him the instruction concerning the five meditations,²⁴ viz., that of the all-embracing Vairocana, that of Akṣobhya (viz., the non-perception of manifestations), that of Ratnasambhava (viz., the immanent identity of everything), that of Amitābha (viz., happiness and unsubstantiality both unconceivable by mind), and that of Amoghasiddhi (viz., the spontaneous activity). Then, going upwards he found in a small monastery a naked monk who (continually) counted (while reciting it) the syllable "hūm." While counting the "hūms" he uttered, he had become a *siddha* who had realized that all imaginations are self-contradictory. Proceeding further he met a great *siddha* called "the man from Brag smug." This master was continually sitting in meditation and did not speak a word to anybody.....

23 This refers to *mānasapūjā* which as we know is considered to be the best.

24 These meditations on the five *tathāgatas* correspond to the five mystic knowledges (*pañcājñāna*) upon which see TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica* III, P. I, p. 55.

reached the pass. But the descent was even steeper than the ascent so that we began to be frightened, thinking how we could go through it. But one of the Mon pa being tied by a rope to the waist, dug some holes in the rock with his pick-axe so that we also went slowly after him. At dusk we reached the bottom of the pass.....Then after about twelve days we came to the presence of the king of Cambhe. There all the mountains of the country of the Mon come to an end. The plain of India is even as the palm of the hand. Grains, food, antelopes, etc., are extraordinarily good; green forests of sugar-cane wave in the wind so beautifully that the mind rejoices.

The king of the place is called Bi tsī kra ma;³² he commands seven thousand officers; each officer is appointed over seven thousand soldiers. Inside the wall (of the royal palace) the *lotsāva* beat the *damaru* and all men of the palace and all people from the town came to see (the visitors). The king himself sat in a *verandah* and expressed in many ways his astonishment.³³.....They remained there about five or six days and were happy. Then in three days they reached Dsa lan dha ra. (When they entered the town), a man came out from a crowd, went in front of the ascetic³⁴ and saying "my master, my master"

32 Perhaps: *vicitra var mā*, one *Vicitravarman* is recorded by the *Vamśāvalī* of Chambā as the son of *Vidagdha* (XIth century), but no king of this name of the XIIIth century is known to me.

33 Is this the meaning of *par pir smra ba?*

34 Called in the text, as usual: *Rin po c'e*, viz., "the gem."

led him by his hand (to his house) and offered him good food. This country of Dsa lan dhara is but one of the twenty-four (branches as represented by the twenty-four) places (of the Vajrakāya)³⁵.

● As to the external twenty-four holy places in the Jambu-dvīpa they are the twenty-four miraculous appearances of Heruka assumed by him in order to convert the twenty-four kinds of gross people capable of being converted. The twenty-four secret places correspond to the circles (*viz.*, the symbols) of body, speech and spirit in the

35 According to various Tāntric schools and specially that of Saṃvara the soil of India is considered to be the *raṇa*-body of Buddha and it is divided into twenty-four limbs, each corresponding to a holy place (*piṭha*) of famous renown. The 24 places are presided over by 24 deities called *dpa' po* regularly included in the mystic *maṇḍala* of the 62 deities of the Saṃvaratantra. I have given the complete list and description of these deities in my *Indo-Tibetica* III, Part II, p. 42 ff. where the Tibetan literature on this subject has been investigated. Our pilgrim following evidently a Tibetan tradition, locates the *piṭhas* of the diamond-body in North-Western India: so at the end of his travels to the Swāt Valley Orgyan pa can boast of having made the tour of all the 24 holy places. The Tibetan tradition accepted by rGod Ts'añ pa, Orgyan pa and sTag ts'añ ras pa is certainly more recent than the other alluded to in the rituals of the Saṃvaratantra. According to this passage of rGod ts'añ pa there are:

(a) A series of 24 places geographically located in the supposed Vajra-kāya: they are supposed to be the mystic abodes of various manifestations of Heruka.

(b) The 24 places as reproduced in the symbolic spheres of the *maṇḍala*, they are secret in so far as their significance is explained by the *guru* to the disciple after a proper initiation.

(c) The 24 places in that *maṇḍala* which is one's own body; they must be meditated upon in the *ādhyātmikā-pūjā*.

maṇḍala. The twenty-four internal places are in one's own body.....

In Dsa lan dhara all protectors (*vīra*) and *dākinī* assemble as clouds. As to this country it is as even as the palm of the hand and easy; *bodhi*-trees and palm-trees and pines of various kinds grow (in this country) and many medicinal plants such as the three myrobalans grow also there.

There are many fruit-trees such as apricots, pears, apples, peaches, walnuts, etc.; many flowers such as all kinds of lotuses, *padma*, *kumuda* and *punḍarīka* can be found there. The country resounds with the voices of peacocks, parrots, cranes and many other birds. This place resounding with (the noise of) beautiful game such as black antelopes, deer, tigers and leopards, is physically a natural palace in whose interior gods and goddesses abide. To the left and to the right there are two big rivers which in their course meet here along the bend of a mountain-spur in the shape of a sleeping elephant in the town of Nāga ko tre³⁶ with five thousand inhabitants. On the spur of that mountain there is a great temple called Dsa va la mu gi³⁷ in which both believers and unbelievers offer their worship. Thirty villages are in charge of this temple. The very day the pilgrim arrived and went to Dsva la mu kae, in the

36 Viz, Nagarkot.

37 Viz, Jvālāmukhi. "Believers (*p'yi*) and unbelievers (*nañ*)" are here respectively the Buddhists and the Hindus, but later on, at the times of s'Tag ts'añ ras pa, under the name of "believers" both Hindus and Buddhists are included, the unbelievers then being the Muslims,

night there were in the temple sixty or seventy girls, all virgins, beautiful and charming, adorned with five kinds of symbols like divine girls, dressed and adorned with various ornaments such as the jewelled crown. Some of them carried in their hands flowers and other things for the *pūjā* such as incense, etc. The girls having covered their head with a cotton veil, entered the temple. The pilgrim followed them, but a man of low class holding the door-bolt did not allow him to go farther; but he, without hesitation, pushed the door and went in. The other stood up but was unable to hit him, (the pilgrim) went inside. One of the principal ladies said "Sit down here, all these are *dākinīs*."³⁸ Then that lady began to sing some songs. The other girls sang as if they were either the sixteen mystic wisdoms (*vidyā*) or the twenty goddesses, made the offerings with the various ingredients of the *pūjā* such as flowers, incense, etc. They sang songs and danced accompanying the dance with gestures of the hands.....

In front of that great town, downwards, there are five cemeteries.³⁹ The first is called Ka ma ku ldan sar where Brahmins and others carry pure corpses. Then there is the cemetery P'a ga su. It is a hill upon an even plain. On the top there is a temple of the heretics. It is the place where Śaṃvara resides. Then there is the great cemetery

38 In spite of the corruption of the text it is easy to perceive that the sentence is in vernacular.

39 The most famous of these cemeteries seems to have been that of Lagura or Laṅguta, referred to also by Orgyan pa and sTag ts'ān.

called La gu ra of triangular shape. There are images of the Sun and of the Moon with the symbols of *āli* and *kālī*.⁴⁰ Between these two, on a kind of pillar, there is a self-born image of Bhaṭṭarikā-yoginī. Then there is another great cemetery called Mi bkra sa ra which bestows great benediction upon those who dwell in it and is possessed of various propitious signs. Then there is the cemetery Si ti sa ra which is in turn a meeting place of the protectors and *dākinīs*. If one resides for some days in these cemeteries one's own merits greatly increase, and the (good) inclinations develop by abiding specially in the two great cemeteries La gu ra and P'a ga su ra.....

In that town there are many begging monks among the unbelievers as well as among the believers, either noble *Yogins* or *Brahmins*.

As to the time for collecting alms (it is as follows). The mistress of the house gets up as soon as the sun begins to warm and after having well swept the house leads (out) the oxen and cleans the *verandah*. Their houses are cleaner than the monasteries and on the earthen walls many designs are painted. On one side of the kitchen they host

40 *Āli* is the series of the vowels and *kālī* the series of the consonants, the two elements of all mantras and the symbols of cosmic creation. According to the Tantras, the two series are respectively encircling the sun and the moon, viz., the mystic circles in the *nābhī-padma*, viz., the lotus of the navel-wheel at the junction of the veins *idā* and *piṅgalā*. Sun and moon are therefore symbols of the two aspects of the divine intelligence as it realizes itself in the reality of the phenomena. *Bhaṭṭarikā-yoginī* is the symbol of the central vein, the *suṣumnā* corresponding to the *surīya* state.

rice-pap and then the mistress of the house carrying a sesamum-oil-lamp burns some incense of good smell: then putting some hot rice-pap upon a plate of bell-metal she goes out, and when the family has bathed, she worships the sun and the moon, then the image of Śiva, the goddess of the outer-door and the goddess of the inner door.⁴¹ Then the mistress of the house goes inside and when the rice-pap is cold, she eats it along with the husband, avoiding any uncleanness. At that time the smell of the aromatic herbs spreads out and all beggars go for alms. The *yogins* blow three times their brass-bell and carrying in one hand the gourd and in another the *damaru*, they reach the door of a house, make the *damaru* resound in various ways and say, "Give alms and practise the law."

The country which is very big is called Dsua lan dha ia, but it has numberless towns, Na ga ko te means in Tibetan "The castle of the snake" He stopped in that place for about five months, but since the nourishment was scanty and agreeable food was lacking, his body was in a very bad condition. Then he returned to Tibet. Avoiding the route he took formerly, he went by a short-cut since he wanted to visit the holy place of Ku lu ṭa. After two days along that route he met in a place called Kī rī ram a great ascetic called Anupama whom he asked for the explanation of the law. The other uttered "Homage to the

41 I do not know the name of the two gods of the door, for the protector of the door, see W CROOKE, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 1926, pp 98 99.

Buddha, homage to the Dharma, homage to the community", thus bestowing upon him the protection of the three jewels, and then he added: "We both are two *vajra-brethren*,⁴² disciples of Ācārya Nāgārjuna. Go to Tibet, you will greatly benefit the creatures."

Then he went to the holy place (*tīrtha*) of Ku lu ṭa which corresponds to the knees of the body included in the circle of the (*Vajra*)-kāya as represented by the twenty-four holy places. The core of this place is called Siddhi where there is a forest of white lotuses in flower; there, upon a stone there are the foot-prints of Buddha.⁴³ In that place one reaches quickly the best powers of the common degree,^{43a} but one meets also many hindrances; in this place there are two venerable (*bhadanta*) and one *yogin*.

Then he went to Gar śa; then to the retreat in Ghan dha la. He spent there the summer; and his inclinations to the practice of the good greatly increased. Then in the autumn he reached the paśś of rTsañ śod in Spiti.

I must confess that these itineraries of the Tibetan monks are far from that exactness which we admire in the writings of the Chinese travellers. As I said before, not only a great deal of legendary and fantastic elements permeates their descriptions, but the itinerary itself can hardly be followed from one place to another. Many reasons

42 Viz., fellow-disciples in the mystic school of Nāgārjuna, the most famous master of the *Vajrayāna*.

43 Perhaps the same as the *stūpa* alluded to by Yuan Chwang, I. 131.

43a Viz., of the *Prajñāpāramitā* class.

account for this fact; first of all proper names are spelt in the most arbitrary ways; there is no trace of the strict phonetic rule generally followed by the Chinese pilgrims. The Tibetan travellers try to transcribe into Tibetan letters the spelling of the various places which they happened to visit; but this transcription is often imperfect.

We cannot also forget that their works were for a long time copied by monks of various capacities who never saw the places spoken of by the pilgrims. This is the reason why so many mistakes creep into these biographies, increasing the inaccuracies of the manuscripts which, as is well known to scholars, are, as a rule, far from being correct.

— There are also cases when the authors attempt translating foreign names according to no fixed rule or according to some fanciful etymologies which make very difficult the identification of the original. No criterion is also followed as regards enumeration of the places recorded in their narrative. In some cases the places are mentioned one after another; in other cases our pilgrims seem to forget the intermediate halts and record only the starting-point and the place of arrival. The direction is rarely given and even when noted it cannot claim to be always exact. Distances are never registered except in days: but this does not help us very much, because we do not exactly know the average length of their marches. As a rule the Tibetans are good walkers, but they halt a good deal during the day. So far as my experience goes, I can say that they march at the average of 10 miles per day. But in India they seem to

proceed more slowly on account of the heat and the different conditions of the soil to which they are unaccustomed; on the whole, travelling in the plains is for them more tiring than marching through the highlands and the plateaus of their fatherland.

Records of speed are often mentioned in these writings, but we are confronted with exaggerations intended to show the miraculous powers of these *yogins* and their proficiency in those special *Hathayoga* practices in which the *rlun pa* are said to be specially expert.⁴⁴

For all these reasons it is particularly difficult to locate the places mentioned in our itineraries; localization on the basis of mere similarity of spelling of names when no distance and no direction is given is particularly doubtful. I must also confess that my interest is rather centred upon other branches of oriental literature than history and geography; this increases the difficulty of my task. But my purpose has only been to place before scholars more qualified for this kind of research than myself certain texts which I happened to find and which are still difficult of access. I leave them to draw the conclusions, if any, from the sources here made accessible. As regards these sources I must add that the Tibetan text of Orgyan pa has been appended since it seems to be very rare. I selected those portions of his vast biography which have a real historical or geographical significance; legends, dreams, prophecies

which enliven the narrative have been suppressed. But I thought it necessary to add to the travels of Orgyan pa the summary of those of sTag ts'an ras pa, who is also known under the name of Orgyan pa Nag dbaṅ dGyamts'o and is the founder of the monastery of Hemis in Ladakh. His date is known, since we are told in the Chronicles of Ladakh that he was a contemporary of King Seṅ ge rnam rgyal (about 1590-1635).⁴⁵

His biography is easily accessible as it is printed in the monastery of Hemis, and it seems to have been composed at the time of the same ruler mentioned above by bSod nams rGyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po. It bears the following title: | *'Au ṭi ya ṅag dbaṅ rgya mts'oi rnam t'ar legs bris vai dū rya dkar poi rgyud man*. This section, which comprehends the biography proper, is followed by the itinerary of Orgyan; *Orgyan mk'a' ḥgroi glin gi lam yig t'ar lam bgrod paṭ t'em skas* written, according to the colophon, by sTag ts'an himself and printed in Leh under the patronage of Seṅ ge rnam rggal and the queen sKal bzaṅ sgrol ma.

The third section consists of songs of sTag ts'an ras pa in the traditional style of the *dobākoṣa* and of the poems of Milaraspa, and bears the title: *Orgyan pa ṅag dbaṅ rgya mts'oi ṃgur ḥbum zal gdams zab don ut pa lai ḥp' reṅ ba*.

As a rule, names of places in this itinerary are better spelt, but from the geographical point of view we are con-

fronted with the same inaccuracy as has been referred to in other Tibetan itineraries; anyhow a good deal of other useful information is to be derived from the diary of sTag ts'an ras pa.

This is the reason why I gave a resumé of all important passages concerned with the travels of this monk. In this case I did not add the Tibetan text, since it is not difficult now to get a copy of his complete biography from the monastery of Hemis which boasts of having this saint as its founder.

The comparison of the two itineraries, viz., that of Orgyan pa and that of his later imitator proves very interesting; we realize the progress done by Islam during the three centuries which approximately intervene between the two travellers; sTag ts'an ras pa set off with the *lam yig* of his predecessor as his guide; so, at least, we read in his notes of travel. But very often he failed to find the places there mentioned; is this fact due to the inaccuracy of the redaction of the diary of Orgyan pa which he employed or was it the result of historical events which in many a place had already altered the importance of old cities and villages and shifted the halting-places of caravans from one site to another?

I feel rather inclined to accept the first view; comparing the lists of the places visited by both pilgrims, we easily realize that the spelling of names in Orgyan pa's travels was badly handled by the copyists; I subjoin a few instances. While the manuscript at my disposal reads

'Bhrarmila,' the copy used by sTag ts'an had 'Vara-mila': so Orgyan pa's 'Sila' seems to correspond to 'Hila' of sTag ts'an; of another place our manuscript gives two readings 'Brahor' and 'Bhahola', while the copy of sTag ts'an reads 'Hora'; so also while on the one side we have 'Na 'ugri' or 'Na 'utri' as the name of a big salt-mine, on the other side the itinerary used by sTag ts'an reads 'Bain-hoti'. In this way it is clear that it is a difficult task for us to identify correctly the route followed by the pilgrims, as it was for sTag ts'an to find out the places his predecessor went through. In fact comparing the lists here appended we must come to the conclusion that he followed a quite independent route; if we except the valley of Swât proper, where more or less the itinerary is the same, the places registered in the *Lam yig* of sTag ts'an are not to be found in that of Orgyan pa—the only exception being Malot and Rukâla; it can only be stated that sTag ts'an went out of Swât at least partially, by the same way by which his predecessor had entered; but this implies that Sandhi pa and Kavoka correspond to *Kaboko*, *Ka'oka* and *Siddhabor*. The route also to Kashmir is through Jhelum and the Pirpanjal and not through the Hazara district as in the case of Orgyan pa. The many adventures he met on the way, compelled sTag ts'an to take long detours and very often to retrace his steps. Anyhow in order to have a better idea of the two routes it is interesting to give the list of the places as registered in the two itineraries.

Orgyan pa^{15a}

gDon dmar

 $\frac{1}{2}$ day

North door of Tise

Map'am lake

Kulu

Maru

Garnatama mountain

Jalandhara Nagarkete

(Nagarkot)

Langura cemetery

20 days

Chandrabhaga river

Indranila on that river

Bhrarmila

1 day

Sila

Town of the Mongols

near river flowing from

Kashmir

Brahor (Bhahola)

1 day

Na'ugri Na'utri

1 (or 3 in the verses)

Malako'e (Malakota)

5 days

Rukala

4 days

Rajahura

Sindhu river

Kalabur

Bhik'robhasa

1 day

sTag ts'an ras pa

Tise, Myan po ri rdson,

Pretapuri, K'yun lun,

Sarang-la, rNam rgyal, Pu

Sa, Soran, K'yags,

Suget'an *

Dvalamukhe

Jalandhara Kangarkot

Langura cemetery

1 day

Nurup u

Srinagara

Pathanna

Nosara

Kathuhara

Parurda

Paturar

Pathanmusur *

Sakiri

Salau

Bhets arbhura

Salakauthu

Sotakota

Ghortsoraka

2 days

Balanagaratila

Kashmir

Varan

1 day *

Mate

Zans dkar

45a The Arabic numbers show the distance in days from one place to another, according to the itineraries. The spelling is that of the Tibetan texts.

<i>Orgyan pa</i>	<i>sTag ts'an ras pa</i>
Laboko, Ka'oka	hBargdan
1 day	Ga sa
Shonele Bhenele	K'an gsar-Dar rtso
hddhabhor	Skye nan
1 day	Gusamandala
Caragk'ar	2 days
Codambar river	Re p'ag
llo mountain	1 day
(all together 7 days from Ka'oka)	Maru
1 day	2 days
Rayik'ar (near Lhabapa's cave)	Pata
Mangalaoi	Kotala pass
1/2 day	Pangi
Dhuma t'ala	Sura
Ma'ona'inka mountain (to the W)	Naran-Kamaru
(Kamalaglupa cave)	2 days
Mangala pini (to the N of Dumat'ala)	Tsambhe dam pa
5 days	7 days
Shari	Hindutam
7 days	Nurup'u—as before up to Gotsoraka
Jrsar	big river from Kashmir
3 days	(Varamila) ^{45b}
Isik'rota	15 days
1 day	Hila
Ramikoti (Rasmisvari)	(Hora)
9 days	(Banhoti)
Dorjemula	3 days
Kashmir	Muraga river
Jalandhara	3 days
	Tsośara
	Dhodhośna
	Vavula
	2 days

^{45b} The names between brackets are those of the places searched for by sTag ts'an as being in the itinerary of Orgyan pa but not found.

sTag ts'an ras pa

Malotṭa

2 + 9 days

Salt lake

3 days

Rukâla

Akkithial

Bhahupur-

Mâlapur

Uts'alapur

Sapunpur

Reuret

Atike—Indus

Mats' ilkanathatrl

Pora

Nosara

Matangana

Mitapâni

Mādha

Atsımı

Pak'ılı

Dhamdhorı

Kıtuhar

Bhathurvar

Pathapamge

Mutadni

Kapola

Kandhahar

Hasonogar

Paruka

Nasbhala

Sik'ır

Momolavajra

Sıthar

Bhysahura

Hasonagar again

Paruba (before Paruka)

Nyapala

sTag ts'an ras pa

Apuka

Killitila

Sikir

Momolavajra

Sinora

Pelahar

Muthilli

Muṣambi

Muthikṣi

Mahâtilli

Satâhulda

Kalabhyatsi

Saṅgiladhuba

Goṭhaiaśakam

l'ass

3 days

Dsomok'ati where all the waters
of Orgyan meet

5 days

Yalom pelom

5 days

K'arakṣar

3 days

Râyîsar

3 days

Rahorbhyara (Maṅgalaor)

Râyîsar again

1 day

Oḍiyāna (Dhumat'ala)

• Kamalabir mountain

Maṅgalapaṇi

Oḍiyāna again

Râyîsar

Midora

K'aragṣar

Sandhibhor

Kavoka

sTag ts'an nas pa'

Bhyatsabhasabhasor

5 days

Sindhu

Radsahura (not far from Atike)

2 days

Nila

Kamthe

Nepale

Nila'u

Lanka

Horaña

Aśakamni

Mahatsindhe

Ghelamni

6 days

Gorśala

2 days

Kalpa

Rukāla

Rahorbunda

Ravata

Satā

Hau

• Tsiu

Rutā

Dselom

Sara

Bhebar

Nosara

Ratsuga

3 days

• Lithana

Pirbañtsa

2 days

Kashmir

Varan

Mate

10 days

Zansdkar

Maryul

As to the names of places, they are in general, no more accurate in sTag ts'an than in Orgyan pa; many of them have lost their somewhat archaic forms often purely Sanskritic and have become more or less similar to modern names; Jalandhara is also registered as Kangarkot, Malakot has become Malot, Orgyan is Kapur and so on. Whereas in Orgyan pa the Mongols are usually called Sog po or Hor, viz., the traditional Tibetan names for Mongols and Turks in sTag ts'an they are known regularly as Mongol and as Pathan, though in his writings Pathan seems to have occasionally assumed the meaning of 'jagpa' viz., robber.

But as regards Kashmir, the names are so like the modern ones that doubt may arise whether they have not been by chance given this shape in quite recent times, by some learned Lama of Hemis on the occasion of the reprint of the itinerary. One might think that to the same elaboration of the text are also perhaps due the dialogues in Hindi often inserted in the book, and which seem to have a quite modern turn. But certain forms as kindly suggested to me by my friend S. K. Chatterjee are now obsolete and point to an early stage of Hindi *hami*, *tumi*, *roti velā kharī*, etc.

I subjoin two examples:

fol. 10—When sTag ts'an escapes slavery in Momolavajra and is saved by a Brahmin in Sithar, the following dialogue

takes place between the Tibetan pilgrim and that Brahmin (fol. 10, b):—

	Hindi	Translation of the Tibetan version
sT.	Hamī bhotantī dsogī huva	I am a Tibetan ascetic (Tib. rtogs ldan).
Br	Kaśīmīrī bha (corr bho) tantī aya	Are you a Tibetan from Kashmir?
sT.	Hamī Kaśīmīrī nahī, hamara mahā tsinna huva Kaśīmīrī thibanta parī daśa masī nīghaya hayī	I am not a Kashmirī. I am from (the province of dBus and gTsan) beyond Kashmir, I left after ten months (journey).

When he meets the old Brahmin who with his caravan leads him to Rukāla (fol. 8, a).

	Hindi	Translation of the Tibetan version
Br	Tu mī abo cham bheśa rotī vela k'ahī kyī na hī	You come here, sit here, do you eat bread or not?
sT.	K'ahī k'ahī	I do eat it.
Br	Hamī bramze huva, tumī t'orra bh'yat'a sangī rdonō ho dsa	I am a Brahmin, wait a moment Let us go to- gether.

The comparison of the two itineraries is also interesting from many other points of view. It shows that at the time of Orgyan pa Islamic invasion had not yet completely destroyed the last traces of Buddhism and Hinduism. We find, in the account of his travels, hints of survival of small Hindu principalities in the Salt Range and in Uddiyāna. As I said before, the names of places are

still recorded in a Sanskrit form as can easily be realized even through the corruption that their spelling underwent in the Tibetan manuscripts. On the other hand, when sTag ts'an undertook his travels, Islam had succeeded in establishing its supremacy, more or less everywhere.

As to Orgyan, it appears, from the account of the two pilgrims, that Udegram-Manglaor was considered the very core of the country along with the sacred mountain of Ilam already famous at the time of the Chinese travellers. But the kings of Orgyan did not reside there, but rather on the outskirts towards Hindustan. In the travels of Orgyan pa there is no mention of a king of Orgyan or of his capital, only a prefect is recorded as residing in a place called Kabo ko or Ka'oka, perhaps three days' march before the Karakār Pass. This prefect, to judge from his name, Rājadeva, was a Hindu or a Buddhist, certainly not a Muslim. At the time of sTag ts'an ras pa the capital of Orgyan is said to be Dsamikotī which seems to have been placed along the bank of the Barandu. In fact, it was in a valley which collected the waters of the country of Orgyan, and at the same time one could reach from there the mountain Ilam in five days without crossing the Karakār Pass. This king was called Pañtsagaya. No mention is made of the religion he followed, but there is hardly any doubt that he was a Muslim, though very liberal and well disposed towards the Tibetan pilgrim.

These kings ruled therefore over a vast territory including, besides the Swāt proper, even part of Buner.

There is no record, in the accounts of our pilgrims, of monks or learned people who continued the tradition of Buddhist scholarship; if he had met any, Orgyan pa would not have failed to mention his name, as he did in the case of Kashmir.

Anyhow at the time of Orgyan pa, a popular and magic form of Buddhism still survived. Witchcraft, for which Uḍḍiyāna had been famous even in the times of the Chinese pilgrims, was then in full swing. But the old traditions recorded by the Chinese travellers and centred round the figure of Śākyamuni or his preachings seem to have been forgotten or to have ceased to attract the attention of the people. The atmosphere which surrounds and inspires the pilgrims is purely *tāntric*. Śaṃvara and Guhyasamāja have become the most prominent Mahāyāna deities; the place of Śākyamuni and his disciples has been taken over by Indrabhūti and Kambalapā. These facts quite agree with the revival of *Tāntric* Buddhism in the Swāt valley which was chiefly due to the work of Indrabhūti and his followers, a work certainly deserving greater attention than has been given to them up to now.

At the time of sTag ts'an there is not the slightest trace of any survival of Buddhism but we have only the mention of ruins; even the sādhus, who were occasionally his companions of travel or whom he found in the country, do not seem to have been Buddhist since they belonged to the sect of the Nāthapanthīyas.

PART II

Translation of the itinerary of Orgyan pa

Setting out from gDoñ dmar in Pu rañs¹ in half a day we² reached the north door of Tise,³ the king of glaciers, and started meditating among a crowd of five hundred ascetics (*ras pa*).⁴ Then we drunk the water of the (Lake) Map'am.⁵

Then we arrived at Kulu (Ku lu ta) and Maru⁶ which respectively correspond to the knees and the toes of the Vajra-body divided into twenty-four great places.

1 Pu rañs is the easternmost province of Western Tibet. At the time of Orgyan pa it was under independent chiefs of the lDe family. See G. TUCCI, *Rim c'ém bzang po—Indo Tibetica*, II, pp. 16, 22 and I. UCCI GHERSI, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 251. As to gDon dmar, it is unknown to me.

2 *Viz*, Orgyan pa and his companion d Pal ye.

3 *Viz*, Kailāsa, *Ti se* is the aboriginal name of Kailāsa, perhaps this name is to be related with *Te se* known in Tibetan demonology as one of the nether spirits (*sa bdag*). According to the Bonpos, the mountain is sacred to *Gi K'od* or rather to the *Gi k'ods* because, in some Bonpo manuscripts I found that the *Gi k'ods* are 360. The Buddhists consider the Kailāsa as the mystic palace of bDe mc'og, *viz*, Samvara upon Samvara—see G. TUCCI, *Indo Tibetica*, III, II.

4 *Ras pa, viz*, "a person wearing cotton clothes" is a common designation for all ascetics though it is specially applied to the *grub t'ob* of the *bKa' rgyud pa* sect.

5 Ma p'am or Ma p'añ is the name for Manasarovar, it is also called *gyu ts'o* "turquoise-lake" from the colour of its waters, or *ma dros pa*=anavatapta.

6 S. Lévi proposed to identify Maru with Chutral. From our

At that time we did in one day the road which to an ordinary man takes seven days, without relenting or being tired either in body or in spirit.⁷ In this place a female *Ksetrapāla* dropping pus and blood from the nose, said (to us) "First of all do not abide in front of the master. Then do not abide in the middle of thy companions. I stay here, I will procure (your) maintenance."

Then I thought that somehow I could go to Orgyan.⁸

Then during the hot months⁹ we resided in the great mountain called Garnatama¹⁰ where many good medicinal plants grow, there are also five miraculous springs. At that place there was an Indian ascetic called "the Vulture," who was considered to be good in discussing (religious matters). Since I also explained thoroughly the doctrines of the various vehicles, all the ascetics who lived there were pleased

accounts it seems that the Tibetan tradition, which must have some weight since it depends upon Indian data, located that country near Kulu. It must refer here to the Upper Chandrabhaga Valley, bordering Champā, Māru, according to the Vamsavalī of the C'amba kings, is the reviver of the solar race and practically the founder of the royal lineage of Chambā. See VOGEL, *Antiquities of the Chambā State*, I, pp 81 and 91.

7 This refers to a special *yoga* practised by some Tibetan ascetics which is believed to develop the capacity of running at great speed. Those who practise this meditation are called, as we saw, *rlun p'a*.

8 Orgyan pa took that girl for a *dākinī*.

9 For *dbyar ka*—summer, or *dbyar be*—jyāsthā April-May

10 Garnatama cannot be located by me

Then, along with many Indian ascetics, we went to Jalandhara¹¹ corresponding to the top of the head of the twenty-four places (of the Vajra-body).

At that place there is a great town called Nagarkete (*ḍiz*, Nāgarkot). In a river there is a triangular¹² piece of land, digging of the soil there is forbidden: there is a cemetery¹³ called Lan gura, where there is a boulder which looks like a skull, a self-made (image) of¹⁴ Āryabhattārikā appears there. To the north there is a famous image called Jvālāmukhī which on looking¹⁵ at the divine face everything blazes in fire. Near the royal palace there is a cemetery called Mitapara where there is a cave of the Mahātmā Nāgārjuna called Mitaglupa. In front of it there is one of the eight kinds of trees called Nilavrkṣa¹⁶. If you hurt it you die immediately. So he said.

11 In the MSS *Dsya ru*. As to this place see above p. 21. Cf.—HUTCHINSON & VOGEL—*History of the Panjab Hill States*

12 *Coṣṭhyun* in this sense is not in the dictionaries but the glosses of Tson Ka pa on the *Guhyaśaṃyuktika* by Candrakīrti fol. 93b—clearly states that it is a synonym of *zur gsum*—triangle

13 The correction *dur k'rod* for *k'rod* as in the manuscript is sure. rGod ts an pa and sTag ts an refer to the same place as a famous cemetery. So also Orgyan pa himself in this same page when he relates the story of the *ganacakra* which he and his companions held in this place (*Lagyura yi dur k'rod*).

14 *Ran byon* for the more frequent *ran bhyun* self born

15 *bstan*=*miḡ lta ba*

16 According to the Tāntric tradition, each cemetery is possessed of its peculiar characteristics: viz., its own tree, its protecting deity, its *nāga*, etc. The lists from Sanskrit and Tibetan sources are given in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, II, p. 173ff.

From that mountain, travelling one month we
went to the south;

In the royal palace of the country of Jalandhara
There is a great bazaar where (one finds) goods
(meeting) all wishes.

I was not able to carry away any handsome good.

After twenty days' march from Jalandhara we reached
a river running from Ghatali¹⁷ called Chandrabhāgā on
whose banks there is the town of Indianila.

To the east there is the plain of rGya skyags¹⁸ One
night we met (*lit.* there was) a woman who was putting,
while singing, many weapons into a bag¹⁹ Next morning
we met four Tartar horsemen and I was hit by one of them
with the back of an axe, since I withstood him violently,
he dragged me for half a day by the scarf I used in my
ascetic exercises,²⁰ kicked me in the chest and, then, I lost
the sight. But at that time I collected the vital force
(*prāna*) and the mental force in the wheel of the *bindu* and
I let them go into the central vein²¹

17 Ghatali is perhaps Gandhola referred to above in whose proximity
the Chandra and Bhāgā meet

18 Unidentified, but perhaps a translation of *Bharata*

19 According to Orgyan pa this woman must have been a dakini
for telling the impending danger

20 *Sgom t'ag, yoyapatta*, the scarf used by ascetics for fastening
together their limbs in some of the most difficult yoga-postures

21 Orgyan pa refers to a Hatha yoga practice of preserving the
vital force, mind-stuff, *sems*, (Skr *citta*) is believed to have *prāna* with
its five-fold principal aspects as its vehicle In the moments of deep
meditation this mind stuff is made to enter in the central vein (*avadbhūti*,

dPal ye²² thought that I was dead. Then, restored to my strength, I made a great noise and I overpowered him with the exorcistic magnetising look, so that he was unable to speak and began to tremble. All our companions said that I was a *siddha*.

• From Intanila (*viz.*, Indranila) we reached Bharmila²³ in one day; from there we went to Sila. Then we arrived at a town of the Mongols whose name I have forgotten. From this place upwards Indians are mixed with Tartars. Some are Hindus (that is, people of India); some are Musurman (that is, Tartars); some being fused together and living in the plains are equally called Mo go la.

• At that place there is a river flowing from Kashmir;²⁴ we forded it and reached a town called Brahora²⁵ of 7,000,000 inhabitants (*sic*). The prefect of the town is a Tartar Malik Kardarina by name. One day's march from this town, there is a hill full of mineral salt; it is called

candali or *madhyamā*) which is supposed to run from the top of the head to the *adhisthānacakra*, *viz.*, to the wheel under the navel, a *t'un* "short *a*" is considered to be the symbol of the germinal consciousness as present in ourselves.

22 dPal ye is, as we saw the companion of Orgyan pa

23 According to the copy used by sTag ts'añ Varamila As to Sila (sTag ts'añ: Hila) it may correspond to Helān.

24 *Viz.*, the Jhelum—the town of which this pilgrim has forgotten the name is perhaps *Mong* or *Haria*.

25 The only big place on the route followed by Orgyan pa seems to be Pindi Dadan Khan which formerly was one of the biggest salt-markets; of course the number of inhabitants is exaggerated. Naugiri must be searched for in the proximity of Khewra mines

Nalcugri; the salt (used in) Kashmir, Malo'o Ghodsar, Dhokur, Jālandhara²⁶ is taken from there. Many salt merchants come from this place even to Jālandhara. The big road to these salt-mines offers very little danger since one finds plenty of food, many companions and there are, usually, many bazaars. So he related.

From there we reached in one day Bhahola.²⁷

From the river (which flows in that place) we
went to the west for one day's march.

There is a mountain of mineral salt called
Nacutri.²⁸

I did not carry away a bit of salt
So he said.

Then, in one day, we went to Malakote²⁹ where we begged (food) from the queen (*rāni*) of that place, Bhuja-

26 Malo o is Malot, Ghodsar is Gujrat

27 Evidently the same as Brahora on the river

28 The same as Naugiri

29 Malot Its temples are well known For references see V A SMITH, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 2nd Edition—p 119, COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp 74 and 143 It is difficult to state why Malot is called the "gate of the ocean", perhaps this was due to the fact of there being some important market to which caravans used to carry goods from the sea and the Indus mouth

As to Hulagu it can hardly be, in spite of the similarity of spelling, the famous emperor who was almost a contemporary of our pilgrim the temple alluded to must be a Hindu temple, as is proved by the statement of sTag ts'an ras pa that it was destroyed by the Moghuls, according to *Archæological Report*, V, p. 185 it was founded by the Kauravas and Pandavas.

devi by name,¹⁰ and she gave us food, provisions and clothes. That place is famous as "the gate of the ocean, mine of jewels." There is a temple founded by king Hulahu. There great plants of *rtse bo*¹¹ grow.

• Then three days' march to the west^{31a}

In the town of Malakoṭa,

There is the gate of the mine of jewels (the ocean)

He did not carry away even a bundle of medical

All sorts of trees grow from the earth.

herbs.

So he said.

There we went for five days to the north-west to the town of Rukala.¹² There a queen,¹¹ Somadevi by name, gave us provisions for the travel. Then in four days we reached Rajahura which is one of the four gates to Orgyan. The other three gates are Nila,^{31b} Purso, Kacoka.

In Rajahura we went for alms; but as soon as we thought of eating (what we had collected), all fruits turned into ants and into worms. I showed it to dPal ye who felt nausea and was unable to eat. Winking the eyes I

30 Or shall we understand Bhojadeva? Rani can also be a mistake for Rānā

31 *rtse bo*, viz., *rtse po*, *rtse po* is, according to Sarat Chandra Das, a plant called in Indian texts *kantakāri*.

33a But, in the prose section, they reached Malot in one day only

32 Rupwal Nila is about ten miles to the north-west of this town

33 Either rānā Somadeva or rāni Somadevi

33b Perhaps the same as Nila on the Soan River to the east of Pindi Gheb.

said "eat" and the rest of what I had been eating turned into fruits and grapes. But he did not feel the inconvenience of being without food and was not able (to partake of that).³⁴

So he related.

To the west of this town there flows the river Sindhu. It is one of the four rivers flowing (from the Kailāsa) and it springs forth from the mouth of a lion in the Kailāsa.¹⁵ It flows through Maryul³⁶ and then, from the country of hBruśa¹⁷ on the North of Kashmīr (which country borders on Zaisdkar and Purig),³⁸ through Persia³⁹ reaches Urgyan

Taking hold of one another's hand we went to the ford of the Sindhu I entered a boat and asked the boat-

34 The translation of this passage is doubtful

35 Cf *Indo-Tibetica* I, p 80 That is why the Indus is called by the Tibetans *Sen ge k'a hbab*

36 Maryul is Ladakh, I have shown elsewhere (*INDO TIBETICA* II, p 15 that though in recent times Manyul has been also used for *Maryul*, originally Man yul was a district to the east of Purang on the borderland between Tibet and Nepal It has been stated but I think on very poor grounds that the so-called Mo lo so (*WATTERS—On Yuan Chwan's travels* I, p 299) corresponds to Ladakh, but the form Mar po suggested by Cunningham does not exist, at least to my knowledge

37 hBruśa is Gilgit LAUFER—*Die Bruza Sprache*

38 Purig is the district of Kargil

39 Stag gzic corresponds, as known to Tajig and is the usual name for Persia or Persian of course Persia in our text refers to *Chilas* and must be understood in a broad sense as the countries depending upon Persia This passage and the following statement point to the fact that the name of Orgyan was not confined to the Swāt valley, but included part of Buner and, roughly speaking, the territory between the Swāt and the Indus.

man to pull the boat, but this man said: "No objection, (but) on the other side of the river they say there are Turks, there is fear of being killed." I replied that I was not afraid of dying and he pulled the boat. From this place upwards there is the country of Urgyan, there are 90,000 towns, but no other place there except Dhumat'ala⁴⁰ is called Urgyan. At that time Urgyan had been just conquered by the Turks. So he related

Having forded that river, there is (a town) called Kalabur. We reached there at sunset all inhabitants, men as well as women, thinking that we were Turks, began to hit us with stones, then we took shelter among some trees and they, saying that that night we could not go anywhere else, departed. But that very night a great storm broke out and we ran away unnoticed from the village.

He said that in the interior of Urgyan there were Persians. Then we met (*lit* there were) a husband and wife who, running away from the Turks and returning home, drove cows and sheep, carrying with them a small child. We said to them "We are two Tibetan monks going on pilgrimage to Urgyan. Let us join you and accompany you as far as Dhumat'ala⁴⁰." Then I carried the child and

40 This implies the equivalence of Dhumat'ala often spoken of in the Padmasambhava literature, with Orgyan, the name of Orgyan, Uddiyāna still survives in the village Udegram, the Ora of the Greek authors I, upon which see SIR AUREL STEIN—*On Alexander's track to the Indus*. Cf also down below sTag tsan's itinerary

40a *Tu the nes, Humatà la*

drove the cattle.....Having forded the Sindhu we went to Bhik'robhasa; then in one day's march we reached Kaboko.⁴¹ In this town all people have a virtuous mind and a great wisdom. There are provisions in great quantities and mines of carminium. Its prefect is called Rājadeva; he is the master of the greatest part of Urgyan.

One month to the west of that town^{41a}

To the west of the ford on the river Sindhu

There is the town of Ka'oka

Where there are mines of carminium

But he was unable to carry away even a bit of it.

So he said.

Then that liberal master gave in the country an entertainment and sent us a man to accompany us up to Bhonele, distant one day's march and, (as to the towns) beyond that place, (he gave us) a letter to lead us safely up to the holy place of Dhumat'ala (in which he had written): "Let them be accompanied by such and such to such and such places." From Bhonele we reached Siddhabhor and then, having forded a small river, we went in one day to K'aragk'ar.⁴² From this place upwards they say there is

41 That the river Sindhu had been crossed has already been said. Bhik'robhasa was not named, but in its place mention was made of Kalabur. This implies that Bhik'sobha sa was considered the first important place after having crossed the Indus. Kaboko seems as Ka co ka—mentioned at p. 45.

41a Viz., Malot.

42 This small river seems to be the Barandu while K'aragk'ar must be a village in the proximity of the Karākar pass.

the boundary.⁴³ There are good rice and wheat, and various kinds of good fruits get ripe; there are always trees like the neck of the peacock.

(The country) is covered by soft herbs and by flowers of every kind of colour and smell, there is a river running through Urgyan called Kodambhar. To the east there is the mountain Ilo⁴⁴ which is the foremost of all mountains of the Jambudvīpa. There is no medical herb growing on the earth, which does not grow there. It is charming on account of its herbs, stalks, leaves and flowers. Sarabhas and other antelopes wander there quite freely. There are many gardens of grape, beautiful birds of every kind and of various colours make a deep chattering.

From that country we went to the west for seven days,
Up to the mountain Ilo, the peak of K'aragk'ar
In the mountain, Sarabhas play
And there are gardens of grape in abundance
I did not covet any thing
Then, on one day we reached Rayik'ar⁴⁵ which is

43 I am not quite sure that this is the rendering of *so tan*

44 This mountain has already been referred to by the Chinese pilgrims by whom it was called Hi lo. FOUCHER (BFEF 1901, p. 368, n. 3) was the first to identify Hi lo with the Ilam. Cf. also A. STEIN *On Alexander's track* p. 27 ff.

45 This place seems to be Saidu, on this locality and its archaeological importance see A. STEIN—*op. cit.* pp. 36-39. It is called Ray sar by sTag ts'an. While here there is no mention of any intermediary stage between Rayik'ar and Manoglaor vaguely stated to be in the north and no notice therefore of Udegram=Dhumat'ala on the other hand down below it is rightly said that leaving Rayik'ar they reached in half a day

said to have been the capital of King Indrabhūti.⁴⁶ Now it is divided into two towns: in one there are about sixty houses, in the other about forty. To the north there is a temple founded by king Indraboti and called Mangalaor, where there are various images in stone of Buddha (munindra), Tārā and Lokeśvara.

When I saw from afar the country of Urgyan my (good) inclinations became very strong. In these places as soon as any common realization is experienced various P'ra men ma⁴⁷ flesh-eating *ḍākinīs*, come privately in front of (the experiencer) as a spouse. Near Rayik'ar there is a small river; it can be forded by a man and it runs to the south. Having forded it (one finds) in a protuberance of a rock, the place where the great Siddha Lāvapā used to stay. A *Ḍākinī* let a shower of stones fall upon that (place), but Lāvapā showed the *tarjanīmudrā* and the stones remained in the sky just as a tent.⁴⁸ The Ācārya turned with his powers the *ḍākinīs* into sheep so that in that country all women disappeared;^{48a} the men assembled, went to their search but could not get (them). Then the Ācārya

Dhuma'tāla. This last statement is of course quite correct. Maṅglaor should have been mentioned after Dhuma'tāla.

46 *Viz.*, Indrabhūti the famous tantric teacher and the spiritual father, according to the Tibetan tradition, of Padmasambhava.

47 On these P'ra men ma, who were a special class of *yogini* see Tucci—*Indo-Tibetica* III, I, pp. 126.

48 Upon the local industry of rags *kumbala* see STEIN—*Op. cit.*, p. 89.

48a Because, in this country, women were all considered to be *ḍākinīs*.

shaved all the sheep and wore upon his body a woollen mantle (*lua; kambala*); from this he was called Lāvapa, viz., "the man of the woollen mantle."⁴⁹ •

Then they went to make homage to him and asked him to let them free. He asked: "Do you make an engagement?" They agreed. Then he said: "Wear the shoes upon the head; insert a ring in the nose; use (*lit.* make) a girdle (in the shape of) a snake." This has become the custom of the country up to now.

A woman there said to me: "You are Indrabhoti." My disciple Śeś rin asked: "Indrabhoti and Lāvapa did not live at a different time?" I said: "Lāvapa was not contemporary with the great (Indrabodhi). There were two Indrabodhis; I am like the Younger." So he related.⁵⁰

Near Rayik'a there is the country of the P'ra men 'ma); all women know how to turn themselves by magical art into any form they want; they like flesh and blood and have the power to deprive every creature of its vitality and its strength. Then, in half a day we arrived at Dhumat'ala.⁵¹ This is the core of the miraculous country or Urgyan. By the mere view of this country our cries

49 This story is also related in the biography of the 84 Siddhas—Grünwedel—*Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer*, p. 176 f. and *Edelstein mine*, p. 56 ff. See also the account of sTag t'ān ras pa. But our text is rather obscure.

50 All this passage seems to be a gloss or a later addition by some pupil of Orgyan pa. That there was more than one Indrabhūti is also accepted by Tāranātha, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 109.

51 Viz., as we saw Orgyan, Uddiyana, Udegrama,

(of joy) could not be counted. In front of it there is a self-appeared (image) of Āryabhaṭṭārikā in sandal wood; it is called Maṅgaladevī.

I slept before it and I perceived that some trouble (*lit.* hindrance) was to come. I asked dPaḷ ye to prepare a stick but he would not hear. Next morning he went to three hamlets to the north and I went to the south to collect alms. I met some women who threw flowers upon me and put a dot of vermilion (on my forehead) making various symbols taught by the Tantras; so that my powers increased and my vitality greatly developed. But he⁵² was surrounded by an armed crowd which was on the point of killing him; I ran to his rescue and when I said that he was my companion, they let him free. In this place there are about five hundred houses. All women know the art of magic and if you ask them: "Who are you?", they reply: "We are yoginīs." While I was lying down in front of Maṅgaladevī, one woman said (to me): "Enjoy a woman", but I hit her with a stick and she ran away. The day after a woman met us both with incense and scattered flowers upon us and honoured us. It was the gift for having kept that gem which are the moral rules. In this place there is a woman who has three eyes; another has a mark manifest on her forehead, *viz.*, the coil of a *svastika* red as if designed with vermilion. She said: "I am a self-made yoginī. I can make everything appear in view."

Then a Tartar said: "If you are a self-made yoginī, bring something from my country", and she immediately produced a bow and a Turkish hat, so that the Tartar was amazed. He said that this woman was the wife of the king of Dhumatala.⁵³

Among the women of this town there is one who is said to be a yoginī. Since it was difficult to recognise her I took food from the hands of all women of the town and by eating it I surely got spiritual perfections from them. In the town of Kaboka⁵⁴ I took food from a woman called Saluṅṭapuca and as soon as I drank a cup of soup (given by her), the place began to tremble.....

• The great yoginis famous in this place are four: Soni, Gasuri, Matangī, Tasasi.

Soni is (the dākinī known in Tibet as) hGro bzañ.⁵⁵

To the west of this place there is a snow (mountain) called Kamaconka⁵⁶ where they say that there is the palace of the yoginis: in its interior there is a cave for ascetics called Kamalagupta, where there is the image of a Krodha of blue colour, with ornaments made of human bones; it has three eyes and is shining with splendour like

53 rGyu ma tala is a mis-spelling for Dhumat'ala

54 It must be the same as the place already mentioned at p 47. Though that town does not belong to the very centre of Orgyan which the pilgrim now describes, it is referred to again as being also a centre of those dākinīs whose powers Orgyan pa here praises.

55 The dākinī hGro bzañ is famous all over Tibet. Her *nam t'ar* or biography belongs to the most popular Tibetan literature.

56 But down below in the veise-section Kamadhoka.

the rays of the sun; he has (in his hands) a sword and a skull.

dPal ye thought that it represented *Samvara*.

To the east of this place there is a cemetery called *Bhirmsasa*,⁵⁷ crowded by terrific assemblages as (thick as) clouds of dangerous *dākinis* (in the shape of) boars, poisonous snakes, kites, crows and jackals.

A little to the north there is one of the eight kinds of trees called *okaśavṛkṣa*. A little to the south of that cemetery there is a self-made (image) in stone of a *Kṣetrapāla*, called *Dhumunkhu*. In proximity of that tree, on a stone called *Kapalabhojon*; there are self-made images in stone of *Brahmā*, *Rudra* and other deities. There, there is a palm-tree which is called *Maṅgalavṛkṣa*, that is "the auspicious tree." In its proximity a spring called *Maṅgalapāṇi*; (that is, the auspicious water) runs to the south.⁵⁸

To the east of this there is a small mountain called *Śrīparvata* where many trees of *senīdan*⁵⁹ grow. To the west of this, in the rivulet *Maṅgalapāṇi* there is a piece of land of triangular shape called *Mulasaikōṭa*; (?) there, there is (an image) of *Āryabhaṭṭārikā* spontaneously appeared. But now fearing the Tartar soldiers she stays in *Dhumat'ala*.

57 Viz., *Bhirasmasāna*.

58 Perhaps the same as the tree and the source alluded to by Sun yung, p. 410, as being near the footprints of the Buddha. If this is the case, the places here mentioned must be near *Tirāt*.

59 Perhaps *Khadira*. *Acacia Catechu*.

In front of it many women assemble and worship it ejaculating "kilitsli."⁶⁰ Those who are deprived of strength or humiliated are (thereby) favoured (by becoming) fortunate.

This is the principal of the twelve Śrīparvatas of India. On its border there is a valley known as the valley of Śrī. While I was sleeping for some days in a temple built by Indrabodhi at the gate of Urgyan, many dākinīs assembled and preached the law. This is the very miraculous country of Urgyan.

From that country he went to the west for four days;

To the west of the "stone without touch"

To the north of the river Kodambaḥ

To the east of the glacier Kamadhoka

There is the miraculous country of Urgyan

The dākinīs of the three places assuming human shape

Give enjoyments of inexhaustible pleasure

But I did not seek for great enjoyments.

So he said.

In the miraculous country of Dhumat'ala there is the benediction of the Blessed one.

He said. "The individuals who are proficient (*lit* good) in the Tantras, masculine as well as feminine,⁶¹ obtain the instructions of the Dākinī of the three places

60 *Kil-tsli* is a Mantra used in many a tantric ritual

61 This refers to a twofold division of the Buddhist Tantras into

Wherefrom the spiritual connection with the deep road can be arrived at?."

Then dPal ye said: "I believe (in all this), (but) let us go back to Tibet." I replied: "From a country far away I reached this place without considering (the risk of) my life and I obtained a great benefit; the best could be to lay the head down here; if this is impossible, at least I want to abide here, at any rate, for three years." Then he said, "Even if you do not want to depart, (at least) accompany me up to Rajahura." So we went. Our companions who seemed to be merchants said to me, "This friend of yours does not understand the language and will not get any alms. Without you this man is lost." Then I thought that it was a shame to leave in the way, among difficulties, a friend who had come to a holy place from a country far away and a fellow disciple of the same *guru*;⁶² going downwards, we reached in five days (a place called) Ghari. Then in seven days we reached Urśar.⁶³ Then, having as companions some merchants we arrived to the gate of a terrific cemetery. When they saw it they were greatly afraid and said, "Ghosts will come and men will die." I said, "Do not fear. I can protect you from the ghosts"; and then by the blessing of Daṇḍ⁶⁴ nothing happened.

feminine and masculine (literally 'mother' and 'father'), according as the medium of their experiences is the *prañā* or the *upāya*

62 *Viz.*, rGod ts'añ pa.

63 *Uṇṣā, viz.*, Hazara.

63a Perhaps Niladaṇḍa.

From that place we went to the east for seven
days;

A terrific cemetery is to the south.

In the fortunate kingdom of Urśar

There is corn and no (land)lord, (so that) anybody
can carry it away.

But I did not carry away a single grain.

Then, after three days, we arrived at Tsi k'ro ta;⁶⁴
there is a great river (coming out) from a rock in the moun-
tain. There a merchant, being inflamed by a disease,
began to fight, killed two (of his) companions and
wounded another. Then I evoked the meditation of
Guhyapati and overpowered him by the magic look; so
that he immediately died; otherwise by fighting at close
quarters they would have killed each other. So he related.

Then in one day we reached Ramikoṭi. On the other
side of the river (which runs there) there is Rasmiśvari⁶⁵

64 Perhaps in the proximity of Mozufferabad (is there any connection between Tsi K'rota and Chairota near this place?). The river along which the pilgrims reach Kashmir referred to lower down is obviously the Vitastā.

65 Rāmeśvara, as known, was and still is a famous *pīṭha* in South India, but in this Tantric cosmography, as accepted by the Tibetan writers, it has been located in the Western Himālayas which are supposed to comprehend the whole of the *Wajrakāya*—See *Indo-Tibetica* III, II, p. 43 sqq. I cannot identify this Rāmeśvara referred to even by 'Tag ts'ñ ras pa; it is anyhow clear that it has no relation with the Rāmāśrama which was a *pīṭha* in Kashmir and the Sanskritised name of Rāmucha (Ramuṣa) referred to in *Nilamatapurāṇa* and in the *Rājatarāṅgini*. See A. STEIN, *Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir*. This place is on the road from Supiyan to Srinagar near Shozkroo.

(one of) the twenty-four places (of the Vajrakāya) which corresponds to the space between the eyebrows of the Vajrakāya. There the space between the river coming from Kashmir and the water of a pond is similar in shape to the eyebrows.

Thence four days' march to the east;
there is a place (called) Rasmiśvari
in the house of the village they nursed (him) and
boiled wine
but he did not carry away a single barley-paste⁶⁶
ball.

(Marching) to the right of the river (flowing) from Kashmir after nine days we arrived at a narrow valley called rDorjemula⁶⁶ and then reached Kashmir.

The surface (of this country) is flat like the palm of the hand and charming, stretching from east to west; in the north there is a lake pure as the sky, called Kamapara;⁶⁷ (the place) is lovely on account of the beautiful flowers; it is thickly covered with excellent trees bent (under the weight of) their ripe fruits; it is adorned by all sorts of ripe crops, and furnished with every kind of riches. It is a mine of knowledge sprung forth from that gem which is the teaching of Śākyamuni; every creature practises the

66 rDorje mūla (lower down 'Varamula') is a curious name half Tibetan and half Sanskrit: it evidently derives from a vernacular form of Varāhamula (now Baramula) where the first part of the word was taken by Orgyan pa as a corruption of Vajra.

67 Kamapara is perhaps a corruption of Kamalasara = Wular lake

white dharmas. It is the place to which refer the prophecy of the Prajñāpāramitā when it says :

“it is the abode of many Buddhist *pāṇḍitas*.”

From there (we went) to Śrīnagara a town of three million and six hundred thousand inhabitants; having been ravaged by the Mongols now (they have been reduced) to no more than three millions.⁶⁸ Then we went to Vatipur⁶⁹ where the saffron grows. Then we arrived at Bhejibhara,⁷⁰ which counts nine hundred thousand inhabitants. There he asked many sacred Mantras of Saṃvara and other Tantras of hBum mi Śri la⁷¹ and of other Paṇḍitas. As they entered the town for alms many children began to hit them with bricks; but two girls saved them, led them into a house but gave them no food.

Then, came an old man who was the householder and (said to us) “If you do not stay (in my house) one day, it will be a shame to me.” Then, having paid homage to us, he asked: “Who are you?” We replied “We are religious men from Tibet and have gone on pilgrimage to Urgyan.” They felt some doubts and called for student who asked: “If you are men of the law, what kind of law do you know?”

68 The number is, as usual, exaggerated.

69 Vatipur down below: Varipur is a corruption for Avantipur; this statement anyhow is not exact, because saffron-fields are to be found only near Pampur.

70 Vijayajetvara now Bij-bchāra, Bijbiara.

71 Bhūmiśīla?

Since I replied that I knew the Abhidharma (*mñon pa*), we commented together upon logic and he agreed that it was true (that I knew the law).

Then he asked: "Besides this system, what else do you know?" When I said: "The Kālacakra" he replied: "It is false," and was amazed.⁷² I insisted that it was true; then they called a student in order to see whether I had said the truth or not and after discussing the point he recognised that I was a learned man. Then they sent for an old man who could recite by heart the Vimalaprabhā;⁷³ the husband was famous as a learned man all over Kashmir. I discussed with the wife and got myself out fairly well.

The lady said: "O learned man, what (else) do you know or have heard."

I replied: "I have thrown away all objects of knowledge as grass and having gone to Urgyan and to other holy places I have forgotten (everything)." Then they agreed that I really was a Tibetan paṇḍit and were pleased. Since I was made known by the name of "Mongol" which I had formerly been given by that boy, the king as soon as he was aware (of this fact) sent some policemen to catch me and from midnight to the day-light (my host) said to the king that I belonged to another reli-

⁷² The Kālacakra is still considered in Tibet as one of the most difficult Tantric systems.

⁷³ This is the commentary upon the Kālacakra; it is being edited by my pupil Doctor M. Carelli and myself in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

gion and was not a Mongol. But he did not listen to him. Then the others having relinquished my protector, my protector said: "It is better to escape." Then, wearing Kashmiri dress we went to a ford of a big river, (but we found there) a group of about thirty Indian guards who said: "The men whom we want are here," caught hold of us, and took off our dress. We asked: "What will be done to us?" "You will be led to the presence of the king and killed; until that, there is nothing to do."—"If we are to be killed before the king, we should be happy to die here."

Then turning downwards we laid the head on the crossed arms and slept; (then they said: "While they stay here, let us go to eat") and they went away.

We ran away very quickly without touching as it were the earth; but, since a great wind-storm arose, even our traces were not visible. Then, restraining our breath, we went to a river which was running very slowly and with great facility without sinking as it were in the water, we reached the other shore. That day we stayed with some young shepherds who happened to be there and in the night we slept in a heap of grass; in the morning we went for alms and somebody gave us some worn clothes.

From that place after one month to the east

We went to Varipur steadfast throne of Kashmir,
in its fields the saffron grows

but I did not carry away even a pistil of that
flower.

When we reached a pass on the way from Kashmir among a crowd of women wearing furred coats, there walked about five hundred women who had the hair loose on the back. They asked, "Wherefrom do you come? Whereto are you going?" I replied: "We come from Urgyan and go to sBud bkra."⁷⁴ "O great man, your enterprise is fulfilled." So they said, and suddenly disappeared. Afterwards the mK'an po bsGrub rin asked me if those women were ḍākinī of that time, and I agreed that they looked so.

Then we reached Jālandhara and after a few days some Kashmiri merchants happened to be there, and asked us: "Where do you come from?" "We are Tibetan monks gone on pilgrimage to Urgyan. On the way back we came to Kashmir and your king (wanted to) kill us both." They looked astonished and said: "Perhaps you are a *siddha*. When the king sent some men to catch you, a kind of rainbow in the sky gradually vanished."

Greatly astonished they made me great honour and many offerings and I began to be famous even in Jālandhara as a monk from Tibet who had gone on pilgrimage to Urgyan and had got there miraculous powers.

Then we went to Maryul.⁷⁵

74 The residence of rGod ts'an pa.

75 The short-way for going to Maryul (Ladakh) would have been to cross the Zoji la; I cannot understand why they took the long way to Kangra and L'ul.

PART III

TRAVELS OF 'TAG TS'AN RAS PA

(2, a) Even sTag ts'an ras pa starts from Tise and through Myan po ri rdson¹ and Pretapuri, a day's journey only from that place,² enters the province of Žai žui in Guge'—(*Žai žui gi yul Gu ge'*). He then reaches K'yuñ luñ³ and after five days he halts at the bottom of the Sarang la.⁴ Having crossed this pass, he enters the

1. Myan po ri rdson is in the proximity of Dulchu gomba

2. Pretapuri is the same as Tirthapuri (see above p. 15). In the *dkar c'ag* or *māhātmya* of the monastery the name is mis-spelt as gNas tre bsta puri, an evident corruption of Tirthapuri through the colloquial Tietapuri—This *māhātmya* is preserved in the monastery and its title is *gNas tre bsta puri gyi gnas yigs* (=yig) *dkar c'ag* (ms. c'ags) *gsal ba me loñ* (ms. lons). Pretapuri seems to be the original name since Pretapuri is included in the list of 24 places presided by the 24 Viras. See Tucci: *Indo Tibetica* III, part II, p. 42 *Padma lan yrg.* CHAP. V. The place was named Pretapuri perhaps on account of the hot springs of sulphur which are to be found there and were considered as being connected with chthonian deities. On Pretapuri—, Tirthapuri see Tucci: *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, p. 120.

3. That points to Palkye where vast ruins are still to be seen. See Tucci: *Santi e Briganti*, p. 132.

4. On the relation between Žai Žui and Guge see above, p. 16

5. K'yuñ luñ (the valley of Garuḍa) as I stated in the above work was a very big town, still considered by the Bonpos as one of their holiest places: mñul mk'ar "the silver castle" of K'yuñ is still invoked in the prayers of the Bonpos.

5a I hardly think that the distance between K'yuñ luñ and the Sarang la can be covered in five days.

narrow valley (*ron*) of Ku nu and through rNam rgyal,⁶ Pu, Sa, he arrives after two days at So ran and then sets out to K'yags;⁷ in five days he reaches Su ge t'an⁸ and after three days more Dsua la mu khe. In the proximity, there is a warm rock which is said to have been the meditation-hut of Nāgārjuna (2, b). Then in one day,⁹ the pilgrim reaches Dsalandhara—one of the twenty-four limbs of the *vajrakāya*; it is also called by the Indians Kankarkoṭ and by the Tibetans Nagaikot. (2, b).

To the east of this place there is a temple in the shape of a stūpa in whose interior one can see a stone image to a helmet: it is called Mahāduikha' and it is said to be the abode of the goddess rDo ije p'ag mo. On the four sides there are four holes for the four magic *karma* to the north there is a place for bloody sacrifices (*dmar mc'od*).

Even sTag ts'an ras pa refers to a practice of the Hindu pilgrims mentioned by early Persian and European travellers: that on the eastern side people used to cut their tongues believing that it would grow again within three days.¹⁰

6 rNam rgyal is Namgyal of the maps at the bottom of the Shipki pass on the Indian side

7 Pu is of course Poo of the maps and Sa is Sasa between Poo and Kanam. So ran is Sarahan, the summer residence of the rājas of Bashahr, perhaps K'yags is the same as rGya sKyags of Orgyan pa. See above, p. 44

8 Suge t'an is, I think, Suket

9 Mahādurgā

10 For European and Indian references on this subject, see *History of the Panjab Hill States* by J HUTCHINSON and J Ph VOGEL, Vol I, p. 110.

Then, to the south of this place, sTag ts'an ras pa went to Laṅgura¹¹ one of the eight cemeteries with its peculiar tree; people used to offer bloody sacrifices to a Nāgavṛkṣa (*gesar*) which grows there. Not very far, there is a cave where the Tibetan ascetic rGod ts'an pa spent some time in meditation. Tibetan pilgrims use to reside there: in the first month of the year, on the occasion of the holiday which commemorates the miraculous exhibitions of the Buddha all believers (*nan pa*)¹² of India assemble in the place and make offering.

During the festival-ceremony after the new moon *yogins* (*dso ki*), *sannyāsins*, (*se ña si*) and Tibetan pilgrims perform their worship without distinction in the royal palace. In a piece of land between two rivers, flowing in that cemetery, there is a boulder, looking like a skull, where one can see quite clearly the image of rNal ḥbyor ma.¹³ sTag ts'an ras pa could not accept the local tradition which saw in the stone the miraculous image of Gaṇapati with the elephant's trunk (3, a). To the north of this place there is a hillock called Kha' nu ma otre.

The king of Kaṅkarkoṭ, which is a very pleasant and fertile country and inhabited by a good-looking people, is a believer; in his family there has been an incarnation of a

11 On this cemetery, see above, p. 23

12 For sTag ts'an the word "believers" seems to include not only the Buddhists but also the Hindus as opposed to the Mohammedans

13 *Vīṣ* Yogini, in this case Vajravārahī.

K'or lo sdom pa,¹⁴ therefore, in the country there are many *sannyāsins* and *yogins*.

One day to the west of Kañ gar koṭ, there is Nuru-p'u; then the itinerary of the pilgrim runs through Srinagara, Paṭhanna, Nosara, Kathunara, Pa • ru rda, Paṭhanmusur, Sakiri, Salau, Bhets'arbhura,¹⁵ Salakau ṭhu. So ṭa ko ṭa, Gho tso ra ka; within two days from this place he reached Ba la na ga ra ti la, the residence of many *yogins*. On the southern side of a hill in its proximity one can see upon the rock the very clear miraculous image of Orgyan. That is also the place where two famous *yogins* Dsin ta pīr¹⁶ and Dsāpīr disappeared into the earth.

Then he went to Kashmīr of which he gives a general description very similar to that found in the Lam yig of Orgyan pa; to the west, in a piece of land between two rivers, there is Rva me śva ra¹⁷ which corresponds to the eye-brows of the *vajrakāya*. To the east there is the stūpa of Pañ pure¹⁸ in the middle of a lake. That stūpa was erected in order to commemorate the miracle of the

¹⁴ Viz. of Cakra-Saṃvara. On this Tantric cycle see TUCCI: *Indo-Tibetica* III, part II, p. 17.

¹⁵ Some places can be identified: Nurup'u is Nurpur, Paṭhanna perhaps corresponds to Pathankot, Kathuhara is Kathua, Salau may correspond to Salathian; anyhow it is clear that sTag ts'añ went from Nurpur to Jammu and from there proceeded to Kashmīr.

¹⁶ These two names seem to be mis-spelt, at least it is difficult to recognize the original form of them: the name "pīr" though specially used for Mohammedan saints is also occasionally applied to Indian Sādhus.

¹⁷ See above p. 59.

¹⁸ Viz. Pampur.

arhat Ñi ma guñ pa who, sitting in meditation, overpowered the *nāgas* who wanted to disturb him; the fierce winds which they roused were unable to move even the border of his clothes, and the weapons they threw upon him turned into flowers; being unsuccessful in their attempts, they requested him to ask for whatever he wanted and he replied that he desired as much ground as was necessary for him to sit in *vajraparyāṅka* (3, b). So all the lake dried up and in the surface which thus emerged there is a town with three million and six hundred inhabitants.¹⁹ There is also a grove, the Kashmirian residence of Nāropā.

The capital of Kashmir is a big town called Na ga ra:²⁰ there is a temple of the unbelievers called Bha ro ma tsi²¹ which is adorned by four hundred pillars. In Palhar sgañ²² there is an image of sGrol ma inside a well. To the east there is a hill called sTagsilima²³ said to be Gru dsin.²⁴

Then in one day the pilgrim reached Puspahari²⁵ where he stopped for seven days (4, b). Then, leaving in Kashmir his three companions suffering from fever and

19 On this legend and its source see VOGEL, *Indian Serpent-lore*, PP 233-235.

20 Abbreviation for Srinagara.

21 This is the Boromasjūd

22 I cannot identify Pa lhar sgañ; I suppose that it is to be identified with the Pārvati hill.

23 Takht-i-Suleiman 24 Potala, the abode of Avolokiteśvara.

25 Also called in the Tibetan biographies of Nāropā, Marpa and Milaraspa: Phulahari: "mountain of flowers." In these older books this place seems to be located not in Kashmir but near Nālandā.

anxious to go back, he went to see the rock Senta²⁶ from where water runs from the fifteenth day of the fourteenth lunar mansion up to the fifteenth day of the eighteenth lunar mansion. This place corresponds to the fingers of the *vajrakāya* and was still in the hands of the believers.

Returning to his friends who were run down by disease he went along with them to Varan²⁷ but on the way to Maṭe²⁸ one of his companions died and another, Grags pa rgya mt'so by name, passed away in Maṭe. So only Drañ po bzai po was left (5, a). They spent there three days and went up to a high pass.²⁹ sTag ts'an halted in the evening on the top, but since his companion did not arrive, on the following day, he returned back thinking that either he had died or was unable to proceed; he met him near half-way below the pass, but on that day it was impossible to go any farther on account of the snow which fell heavily; next day, they started and crossed the pass with great difficulty and having recourse (5, b) to some *yoga* practices after fifteen days reached the Tibetan Zaiis dkar where they met the great Siddha bDe ba rgya

²⁶ This spring is sacred to the Goddess Saṃdhyā and is called now Sundbrar. STEIN, KALHAN'S *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* II, p. 469. "The spring of Saṃdhyā derives its fame as well as its appellation from the fact that for uncertain periods in the early summer it flows or is supposed to flow, intermittently, three times in the day and three times in the night."

²⁷ Unidentified.

²⁸ I suppose *Mutti* on the river Brinvar.

²⁹ Perhaps the Shilsar Pass.

mts'o who invited them to spend some time in retreat in the place where he used to meditate. Behind it, there is 'the magic shield'³⁰ of Nāropā, they spent two months in that place. Then, when their companions arrived from Nagarkot, intending to go to Ga śa,³¹ the place of the dākinīs, they went to ḥBar gdan³² and from there, having taken leave from bDe ba ıgya mts'o and his disciples, they reached Ga śa. The king of this place Ts'e rin dpal lde³³ rendered service to them for three months. Then in K'an gsar³⁴ they were attended upon by the younger sister of the king with her son; she was called bSod nam. They explained various doctrines, such as the mahamudrā, the six Jaws of Nāropā, the Prānayoga, the law of the karmic connection, the esoteric methods, the teachings of Mai pa Mi la ras pa, and Dvags po³⁵ rje, the story of the

30 The text has *p'ub*, but I think there is a mistake, exact reading being, *p'ug* 'cave'

31 Ga śa—Garśa, the usual Tibetan name for Lāhul

32 This is perhaps, Padam, the chief village of Zanskar, though in the *Chronicles* edited by FRANKEL the name of this place is spelt p 164 Dpal klem (p 166 dPa gtum)

33 This king is to be identified with Ts'e rin rgyil po brother (*Chronicles of Tīman*, FRANKEL, *ibid*, p 212) or son (*Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Tīman*, *ibid*, p 216) of bSod nam rgya mts'o—perhaps the same as Ts'e rin se grub of the document referred to *ibid* at page 218 (about 1569 A.D.)

34 On the left bank of the Bhaga river.

35 Viz the "Nāropā cos drug", the fundamental book of the bKa'rgyud pa and the guide of their hathayoga practices

36 This is the *sampralāya* of the first masters of the ~~bKa~~ bgyud pa sect.

law,³⁷ the Mañi bka' ḥbum³⁸ etc. They also visited the places near Lāhul, such as Gandhola, Gusa maṇḍala,³⁹ Re p'ag, and Maru corresponding to the toes of the *vajrakāya*⁴⁰. In winter they sat in retreat for six months in gYur rdson. Then, for two months they went to Dar rte,⁴¹ where was the king. Altogether, they spent an entire year in Ga śa. After that, while his companions remained there, he went with a single monk from Dar rtse to K'an gsar, sKye nan,⁴² Gusamaṇḍala where begins the country of Kuluṭa corresponding to the knees of the *vajrakāya*, then, in two days, he reached Re p'ag where there is the image of sPyan ras gzis in the form of hGro drug sgiol ye śes.⁴³ The image is made in stone from Kamaiu.⁴⁴ Then, in one day, to Maru, in two days to Pata, then to the bottom of the Ko ta la pass, having crossed the pass full of snow he reached Pangri and then Sura and after two days Na ran. This country is called Ka ma ru and corresponds to the armpits of the *vajrakāya*. Having crossed another high pass, he reached in two days the narrow valley of Tsain bhe dam pa,⁴⁵ which he traversed in seven days. Then he found himself in Hindutam.⁴⁶ The itinerary

37 *Coś hbyun* This is the general name for any history of the holy doctrines

38 The famous work attributed to Sron btsan sgam po

39 Gus on the Chandra River 40 See above p 18

41 The first village to be met when entering Lahul after crossing the Borolacha Pass.

42 *Viz* Tī nān 43 See SCHUBERT, in *Asiaticus Asiae* vol III

43a The high valley of the Chandrabhaga

44 *Viz* Chamba 45 Hindutam, mis-spelling for Hindustan

then runs through: N'rup'u, Śrinagara, Paṭhaṇṇa Nosara Kaṭuhar, Pātura, Pathanmosur, Sakiri Salau, Bhetsarbhura Salakauṭhu, Sautā, Kauṭa, Ghotsoraka⁴⁶ in whose proximity a big river, coming from Kashmir runs to the south. Since in the itinerary of Orgyan pa it was stated that on the other side of this river there is a place called Vara mila he (7, a) marched for four days towards the south, but could not find that place. His companion Ži barnam rgyal lost any faith in the itineraries and advised him to return. But he did not listen to him and went to the north-west, after fifteen days through a desert country he reached a place called Hila. He asked there for the town called in the itinerary of Orgyan pa Hora and said to have 700,000 inhabitants, nobody could tell him anything about it. Nor had he better results when he enquired about the mountain of mineral salt called Banhoti. They said anyhow that there were many places where one could find mines of mineral salt the nearest being those of Isośara, having traversed for three days a desert country they reached Muraga⁴⁷. There they forded a big river and after three days more they reached Tsośara. It is a valley stretching from north-west—where it is very high—to the south-east, where it is low. On its northern side there are many ravines facing south where there is mineral salt in the shape of rocks. To the south of this place there

⁴⁶ See above

⁴⁷ The river is of course the Jhelum, Muraga is perhaps Mulakwal Tsośara is to be located in the proximity of the Chuil 'all

is the big country of Dhagan and that of Dsamola⁴⁸ where there are many believers and many sects of monks. They come to take salt there from Nagarkot up to Lahor and Abher, on the other side, up to Gorsala⁴⁹ and Ghoṭhaia-sakam. In the old itineraries it is written that the salt of this place goes as far as Orgyan; but at the time of the author this commerce had stopped; anyhow even in Orgyan there is mineral salt of blue colour like crystal. From Tsośara (6, b) he went to Dhodhośna, and Vavula, then, after two days to Malotṭa,⁵⁰ where there is a temple founded by king Hula ruined by the soldiers of the Mugal. In the itinerary of Orgyan pa it is stated that to the north-west of this place there is Rukāla, but nobody could give any information about this town. Anyhow marching towards north-west, they met some Turks who were salt traders; he enquired from them about Rukāla, but they replied that the place beyond was desert and full of brigands who were likely to kill them. They could give no information about the road. Proceeding farther, they had a narrow escape from five or six salt diggers who wanted to kill them; the next day (8, a), they turned back but lost the way, went to the east and after some time they met some salt-traders; among them there was an old Brahmin who became a friend of the Tibetan pilgrims. These went along with the caravan until, after

⁴⁸ Dhagan is Dekhan, and Dsamola is the Tamil Country. (Dramiḍa. Dramila).

⁴⁹ Perhaps Gujarat.

⁵⁰ Malotṭa is Malot: See above

nine days, they met a salt-lake⁵¹ on whose shore there was a large pasture-land. The pilgrim confesses to have forgotten the name of this lake. The merchants there carried their trade of salt and butter and then went away with the younger brother of the Brahmin, sTag ts'an resumed the march and after three days arrived at Rukāla;⁵² then they went to Akkithial, Bhahupur, Mālapur, Uts'alapur, Sapunpur, Reureṭ, Aṭike⁵³ in front of which runs the Sen ge k'a h̄bab. Crossing this river there is a place called Ma ts'il ka natha trīl; then there is Pora, Nośara,⁵⁴ Mataṅgana, Miṭhapāṇi. It is a spring which has a salt taste and it is said to be derived from the urine of Padma-sambhava. They went farther on along with that old Brahmin, three *yogins* and a householder, Atumī by name (8, b). After having been detained by a man called Tsadul-hayī⁵⁵ who expressed the desire to accompany them but delayed the departure on account of some clothes that he

51 This is the salt lake near Kallar Kahār. It took our pilgrim so many days before reaching this place because, we are told, he went astray.

52 As I stated before (p. 47) I supposed that Rukala is the same as Rupwal. As to the names which follow, if the identification Rukāla-Rupwal is exact, Bhahūpur might be Bakhūwala to the north of Khaur, Malapur, is perhaps a mis-spelling for Kamalpur and Utsalpur seems to correspond to Uchar (to the south of Campbellpur).

53 Aṭike must be Atrok: this identification is sure on account of the Sen ge k'a h̄bab said in our text to be flowing near that place. The Sen ge k'a h̄bab is the Tibetan name for the Indus.

54 Of all these places Nosara can certainly be identified with Nowshera. Pora is perhaps a corruption of Piran.

55 Perhaps a Mohammedan name: Shahidullah.

had to wash or of the bad weather, they started again on the journey; but the old Brahmin left them and returned (9, a). The itinerary of s'Tag ts'an runs then through Mādha, Atsimi, Pakśīli,⁵⁶ Dhamdhori, Kiṭuhar, Bhaṭhurvar Paṭhapamge, Mutadni, Kapola, Kandhahar, Hasonagar.

Then, they forded a river and resumed the journey through Paruka, Nasbhala, Sik'ir. Proceeding farther for half a day they met about sixteen brigands who boasted to be from Kapur, viz., from Orgyan. They hit the pilgrim on the head, cut his hair, took off his clothes and then sold him as a slave, for some silver *tañk'as* and some *payesa* to two brothers. After having met another group of six brigands and still another brigand and paid the ransom, in the evening he reached with his proprietors Momolavajra (9, b). He was given some work to do, but at the fourth part of the day (t'un) he began reciting the prayers loudly. The old father of the house in a fit of rage, hit him twice on the head so that he lost consciousness, but he recovered after having recourse to some *yoga* practices and to the meditation on his *guru*. He escaped and arrived at a place called Sithar where he was caught again by the people. He told a Brahmin who happened to be there that he was a Tibetan not from Kashmir but from Mahācīna; with his help he was released and at the suggestion of that same Brahmin he went to Bhayasahura where he met many *yogins*. The chief of them was called Buddha-

⁵⁶ Pakśīli perhaps is Bakshali in which case Madha could be identified with ~~Mā~~Madān.

nātha. He was received by them with great joy and was given the name of Šamonātha (11, b). Those ascetics had holes in the ears and were called Muṇḍa. Living near Guru Jñānanātha sTag ts'an learnt many doctrines of the *yogins*, such as Gurganātha.^{56b} During his stay in that place he could assist in some wrestling performances in great fashion in that town. There was there a famous wrestler who was challenged one day by a Turkish officer who boasted to be very clever in that very art. This Turk began fighting, but was easily overcome by the other who though often requested by his badly injured rival to stop fighting, did not cease until that officer was killed. In the proximity, there is one of the eight cemeteries, viz., that called Ts'an 'ur 'ur sgrogs pa where there is a thick wood. Both believers and unbelievers carry there their corpses, the believers to burn them and the unbelievers to bury them. They go there for secret practices and in the night one can see corpses rising from the soil; there are also many *ḍākinis* black, naked, carrying in their hands human hearts or intestines and emanating fire from their secret parts. In this place there are also performances. They fight one with a shield and another with a sword. If one breaks the shield that is all right; otherwise even if he is wounded or dies it is considered to be a shame (12, a). In that place in the first month of the year on the occasion of the big holiday which commemorates the great

^{56b} I cannot find the origin of Šamonātha: is it Saṃbhunātha? Gurganātha is Gorakṣanātha.

miracle of Buddha there is a great *melā* where many *yogins* and *sannyasins* meet. They told him that he would have seen a great *yogin* hailing from Orgyan (13, a). In fact, he met him and he was astonished to see that he knew everything about his having been captured by the bandits, etc.

This *yogin* told him that he was bound for Hasonagar but that he would return within ten days to take him to Orgyan. Therefore, sTag ts'añ ras pa waited in Bhyasahura for ten days; then, since the *yogin* did not come back, he decided to start alone. The *yogins* assembled in Bhyasahura and the great Pīr Buddhanātha advised him to go wherever he liked either to Dhagan or to Hindutam or to Lahor save Orgyan; there were there too many Paṭhans who would have killed him (13, b). So he requested them to show him the way to Hindutam, but in fact he went to Hasonagar where he enquired about the *yogin* from Orgyan who was called Pālanātha and succeeded in finding him. That Pālanātha was a Paṭhan by birth who after having been an unbeliever became converted and spent many years in Orgyan. Then they joined a party of traders and went along with them upwards. They crossed a small river and then, through Paruba, Nyapala, Apuka, Killitila, Sikir,^{56c} Mōmolavajra, Sinora, Pelahar, Muṭhilli, Muṣamli, Muṭhikī, Mahātilli, Satāhulda, Kalabhyaṭsi, Saṅgiladhuba, Gothaiaśakam they arrived at a high pass; having crossed it, they arrived in the country

^{56c} But before Sik'ir.

of Orgyan. After three days they reached Dsomok'aṭi⁵⁷ where there is the palace of the king. This king was called Parts'agaya. He holds his sway over the 700,000 old towns of Orgyan. This king was an intimate friend of Paṇātha and therefore he gave them a guide who knew well the country. After five days they arrived at the mountain Yalom⁵⁸ pelom said to be one of the eight Śrī-parvatas to the Jambudvīpa. At its bottom there grows a medical herb called *jāti* and on its middle there are thick woods of white sandal. On the top there are fields of saffron. In their middle there is a tank, where the king Indrabhūti used to bathe and on the border of this tank there are many chapels beautifully carved and adorned with beams of red sandal. The top of this mountain is higher than the Himālayas. He resided there for seven days (14, a). In a desert valley near that mountain there are many wild animals and every sort of poisonous snakes. Then they went to the other side of the mountain (*15, a), where there is a valley in the shape of a full-blown lotus with eight petals, stretching towards the south-west. After three days they arrived at K'arakśar;⁵⁹ then after five days at Rāyīśar.⁶⁰ Up to that point the custom of the people of Orgyan is like that of

57 Dsomok'aṭi is said, down below, to be the place where all rivers of Orgyan meet: and on his way back to Kashmir sTag t'saṅ went straight from that town to the Indus: from there he also starts for the mountain Ilam. I therefore think that Dsomok'aṭi is to be located in the Baranda valley.

58 Ilam mountain, on which see above p. 51.

59 Which seems to be the Karakār Pass.

60 Saidn.

the Indians. But after that place it changes. Both men and women have a girth of jewels; this girth sometimes is in the shape of a snake of black colour, sometimes of a snake streaked. They wear a black hat of felt in the shape of a toupet which is adorned with many jewels; the women wear a cap like that of Padmasambhava⁶¹ but without the hem. Both men and women wear earrings, bracelets and rings for the ankle made either of silver or of earth properly prepared. To the south-west side of this place there is the palace of Indrabhūti with nine stories (15, b). But at this time there were only the ruins.⁶² Not very far, to the north-west, there is the place where Padmasambhava was burnt, the soil turned into clay. But there is no trace of the lake spoken of in the biography of the saint. After three days' march to the north-west there is a big place called a Rahorbhyara. This place is so situated that it takes seven days from whatever part one wants to reach it either from the west or the east or the north or the south. In its middle there is the vihāra founded by king Indrabhūti the great and called Mangalahor.⁶³ It possesses one hundred pillars and still has many chapels. Specially worthy of notice is the chapel of Guhyasamāja with its mandala. To the north-west of this locality there are many places, but there are no temples nor things worth seeing. Therefore, both sTag ts'an ras

61 Rāja Girā's Castle?

62 Manglawar Rahorbhyara and Mangalahor seem therefore to be identified, Mangalahor being the centre of the place

pa and Pālanāha went back to Rāyīsar. Behind that place there is a small river, they forded it and after one day they arrived at Odiyāna⁶³ (16, a); it was a big holiday corresponding to the tenth of the third month of the Buddhist calendar. All people were assembled and singing and dancing they drank all kinds of liquors without restriction. This place is the very core of Orgyan (16, b). To the west of it there is a small temple where one can see the miraculous image of *yogini* of red sandal. To the back of that temple there lives a *yogini* Hudsunātha by name more than a thousand years old though she looks about twenty-six or twenty-seven. From that place one can see the mountain called Kamalabir'⁶⁴ (17, a), its top is always covered by the splendour of the rainbow, but when the rainbow vanishes it looks like a helmet of silver. According to the Tantric literature this mountain is known as the *dharmagīṇja* (the treasury of the law) or the miraculous palace of Heruka. In front of it there is a cave which is the sacred cave of the Vajra, or according to the itinerary of Orgyan pa the magic cave of Labapa. All the Indians call it Hadsikalpa and it is the abode of K'otā.⁶⁵ Behind that mountain there is a lake known as the 'Sindhu-ocan' of Dhanakośa in colloquial language the Indians call it Samudraśintu. It was distant only one

63 Udegram

64 The same as the mountain Kama 'onka Kamadhokṛ of Orgyan pa

65 The meaning or the Sanskrit equivalent of this word is quite unknown to me

day's journey; but Pālanātha told him that there was no need of going any farther, because behind the pass there was no place to be seen except the lake. To the south there is a small mountain where there is a spring called Maṅgalapāṇi or in colloquial: āyurpāṇi because it bestows immortality. (18, a). Then, they went back and in two days they arrived at Oḍiyāna also called Dhumat'ala; then through Rāyīśar, Midora K'aragśar, where there was a woman emitting fire from the mouth dancing and singing like a mad person whom nobody dared approach, Saṃdibhor, Kavoka, Bhyathabhasabhasor, Dsomok'atī was reached. The king at that time was in the park where he kept all sorts of animals, such as Persian lions, boars, etc. under the supervision of special stewards. While Pālanātha remained with the king, sTag ts'an went on his way for five days guided by a man appointed for this purpose by the king. He then forded the Sintupani. The itinerary then runs through Radsahura, after two days, Nila, Kamṭhe, Nepale (19, a) Nila'u, Lañka, Horaña, Asakamni, Mahātsindhe, Ghelaṃri after six days, Gorśala, then again after two days Kalpa, Rukāla, Rahorbunḍa, Ravata, Satā, Hati, Tṣīru, Rutā,⁶⁶ Dselom, Sara, Bhebar, Nośara, Ratsuga. After three days he reached Lithanna, then crossed two passes and reached a narrow valley.

66 From Ruta to Kashmir the route can easily be followed: it is the old route through the Pir Pañjal Pass, practically abandoned after the extension of the railway to Rawalpindi.

Rutā is Rohtas: Dselom is Jhelum: Bhebar is Bhimber; Nośara—Nowshera, Ratsuga—Rajaori.

Having then crossed another high pass called Pirbañtsa,⁶⁷ after two days he arrived in Kashmir where he went to pay a visit to the famous place Puśpahari in the lower part of which there are fields of saffron. In the proximity of these there is a bazar called Spanpor.⁶⁸ After having bathed in the spring of the rock called Sandha⁶⁹ he returned to Kashmir proper. At last, having crossed a pass, he arrived after two days at Varan; then he went to Mate and after ten days through a desert country he was in the Tibetan Zansdkar. Finally, he reached Maryul where he was properly received by the king and his ministers.

67 Lithanna is perhaps Thannamang. Pirbañtsa is evidently Pir Pañjal.

68 Probably Pampur.

69 Cf. above note 26.

IV

APPENDIX

TIBETAN TEXTS

From the biography of rGod t'saŋ pa

(42a) Zaŋ suŋ gi yul nas yar byon pas, lam de na gnas c'en Tre ta pu ri bya ba yul ŋi šu rtsa bzii naŋ nas skui ak'or lo ste. de yaŋ luŋ pa gsum (42.6) adus pai mdo na, ri c'en yo gcig yod pai rtsa ba na mar la c'u bo Ūaŋ gū ābah pa. dei gram na dbaŋ p'yug c'en poi lha brten gsum yod pa...der žag šas bzugs pas, ŋams daŋ dge sbyor šin tu ep'el bas, gnas de byin brlabs šin tu c'e ba grig adug. De nas mar gi yul Ūu ge Maŋ naŋ bya ŋžubanašno, Žu ba na, Jo bo A ti šai bzugs gnas dnos grub (1-la) kyi c'u 'mug gton pa yaŋ adug ciŋ, de nas mar byon pas, Žaŋ Žun mT'o ldin gi gtsug lag k'an na lha btsun Byaŋ c'ub 'od kyi bzugs gnas la sogs yaŋ mt'oŋ. C'u c'en po t'ams cad la ts' am ts'om med par rgal bas kyaŋ mt'ar Yin, sku lus kyaŋ šin tu gzo mdog bde bar byuŋ. De nas Žaŋ zuŋ gi yul de rgal nas, Pi ti Bi lcogs gi (') stod na, grub t'ob c'en po K'a rag pa bya ba lo sum cu skyil kruŋs ma žig par rdsogs pa c'en poi dgoŋs pa la mñam rjes med pa daŋ mjal nas, c'os žus pas' ābul ba dgos gsuŋ "ned spran po yin ābul ba med" byas pas, "ābul ba med na, gdam ŋag mi gteŋ" gsuŋ; der yid kyis yan lag bdun p'ul bas, "da byas pas, mc'og pa adug" gsuŋ nas, k'yab (') gdal c'en po rNam par suan mdsud kyi (') dgoŋs pa, gsal la adsin med Mi skyod pa dgoŋs pa, mñam ŋid lhun grub Rin ābyun gi dgoŋs pa, bde stoŋ blo adas. (43b) sNau ba mt'a' yas kyi dgoŋs pa, p'rin las lhun grub don grub kyi dgoŋs pa žes dgoŋs pa lñai gdam ŋag gsuŋs. De nas yar ts'ad du byon pas, dgon c'uŋ gcig na, dge sloŋ sgres po hūm gcig po adieŋ pa gcig adug; k'oŋ gis hūm bgraŋs pai dus su, rnam rtog

(1) In this Tibetan text I have adopted my usual transcription "a" for "h" employed in the English text.

(2) Ms. *Ūis Bstod*

(3) Ms. *K'gud*

(4) Ms. *Kyis*.

t'ams cad rañ agags la agro bai grub t'ob gcig adug; de nas yar byon pa na, grub t'ob c'en po Brag smug pa bya ba gcig dañ mjal bas, bla ma de tiñ ñe adsin la dus rgyun du bžugs pas, mi la gsuñs skad cig tsam yañ mi smra.....

(44a) de nas Gar sar byon pas, de na ri bo Gagdla la bya ba na, ri dpag ts'ad cig yod pa; ri dei rtse mo na Dharma nutri bya ba me'od rten rañ ahyuñ gcig bžugs pa gziggs. p'yogs bži nas duos grub kyi c'u dañ šiñ yod pa dpa' bo dañ mk'a' agro rnams kyi byin gyis rlabs pai gnas, grub t'ob pai rnal ahyor p'o mo mañ du bžugs pa gžan las k'yad par du ap'ags pai gnas cig adug; groñ ltag gcig na dgon pa adra adug ste; der bžugs šiñ ma adod nas, mgar lo tsa ba cau du byon nas Dsya lan dha rar ahyon pai lo rgyus gsuñs pas, k'yed p'yin pai mi you, ats'o ba yañ dkon.....

(44b) der k'on gis rgyags kyañ bskur lo ts'a gcig 'yañ btañ nas, Cambe rgyal poi blon po Su tu bya ba la agrags nas, sgom c'en adi gñis mgo t'on cig gsuñ nas, bka' bgro legs par mdsad nas, byon pa yin gsuñ. De nas Gar sa nas žags gsum soñ ba na, gañs la t'on po gcig gi tsar p'ebś pas, la rtsab po me loñ adra bā mt'o bo nam mk'a' la sñeg pa adra ba adug pas, adi la ci tsug ⁽¹⁾ byas agro sñam pa byuñ bas, Mon pa k'ur pa mañ po adug ste; adi ts'oi t'ar na, ñed ts'oi yañ t'ar yon sñam dgoñs nas, der k'o cag sta gris lam stegs brus nas, agro yin adug pas, ñed kyis kyañ k'o. (45a) cag gi rjes la p'yin pas, ñi ma p'yed tsam la k'ar brtol ⁽²⁾ bas, t'ur de bas kyañ rtsub par adug. adi la yañ ji ltar agro sñam adra k'um pa cig byuñ bas yañ Mon pa cig ston par byas, rked ⁽³⁾ la t'ag pa btags te; sta gris ⁽⁴⁾ tog k'un brus ⁽⁵⁾ nas, agro yin adug ñed gnis pos kyañ go le p'yin pas, nam sros pa dañ lai rtsa bar p'ebś....De nas, ñi ma bcu gñis tsam nas, Cambhe rgyal sar p'ebś pas, der Mon yul gyi. (45b) ri t'ams cad zad nas, rgya gar gyi t'añ

(1) Ms. *aji tsug*(2) Ms. *brtol*(3) Ms. *skyed*(4) Ms. *sta ris*(5) Ms. *grus*

lag mt'il ltar sñoms par adug; mi abru dan k'a zas dgo ⁽¹⁾ ba la sogs pa šin tu bzañ po, bur šin gyi ts'al sño liñ ñe ba šin tu mdses pa ñams dga' bar adug. De na rgyal po Bi tsi kra ma bya ba la blon po bdun stoñ yod pa; blon po re re ya yañ dmag bdun stoñ bdun stoñ yod pa adug gsuñ. Dei leage rii nañ du lo tsts'a bas ña ma ru bkrol ba dan po brañ dei mi dan groñ k'yer mi tams cad nas blta zin adug, rgyal po k'oñ rañ yañ bsil k'añ geig gi steñ na bzugs nas, par pir mañ po smra yin adug.

(46a) Der zag lña drug tsam geig bzugs pas zin tu skyid par byuñ gsuñ. de nas ñi ma gsum byon pas, Dsā lan dha rar ap'ebs pas, mi mañ po geig gi ⁽²⁾ gseb nas skyes pa geig Rin po c' ei sñon du 'ons nas, "gu ru gu ru" zer p'yag nas k'rid nas, gsol ba bzañ po geig zus pa yin gsuñ. De yañ Dsā lan dha ra zes bya ba de yul ñi šu rtsa bzij yal adab yin zin p'yi rol gyi yul ñi šu rtsa bzi ni dsam bu gliñ na adul bya rags pa ñi šu rtsa bzi la adul bya kyi sprul pa He ru ka ñi šu rtsa bzi yod; gsañ bai yul ñi šu rtsa bzi ni dkyil ak'or gyi sku gsuñ t'ugs kyi ak'or lo la yod; nañ gi yul ñi šu rtsa bzi ni rañ gi lus la yod de.

(46b) Dsā lan dha ra na dpa' bo mka' agro sprin t'ibs pa bzin du gnas so, de yañ gnas dei bkod pa ni, t'añ lag mt'il ltar mñan zin bde ba la byañ c'ub kyi šin dan ta la dan t'añ šin la sogs pas šin sna ts'ogs skyes pa, ar bar skyur gsum la sogs pai sman sua ts'ogs skyes pa, co li dan ño li' k'am bu dan star k'a la sogs pai šin t'og⁴ sna ts'ogs pa. pad mo dan ku mu ta puñda ri ka la sogs pai me tog sua ts'ogs skyes pa; rma bya dan ne tso dan k'ruñ la sogs pai adab c'ags mañ poi sgra brñan sgrog pa, k'ri brñan dan ru ru stag dan guñ la sogs pai mdses pai ri dags mañ po ak'rol bai gnas de p'yi rañ bzin gyi gñal yas k'añ du yod pa, nañ bcud lha mor gnas pa; de yañ gyas gyon gñis na c'u bo c'en po gñis rgyug ciñ

(1) Ms. go

(2) Ms. . yis.

(3) Same as ña tñ

(4) Ms. t'ogs

adus pai gsum mdo. (47a) ri deu c'en po glañ po ñal ba adra
 ba gcig gi mk'al k'uñ na, Nā ga ko tre zes bya bai groñ
 k'yer stoñ ts'o lña yod ciñ; ri bo dei sna la, Dsa la mugi zes
 bya bai gtsug lag k'añ c'en po zig yod do. de la pyi nañ
 gñis kai mc'od pa abul zin; de na groñ k'yer sum cu tsa
 tsam dkon gñer adug Rin po c'e pas p'ebz pai ñin mo Deva
 la mu k'er' byon pas, dei nub mo groñ pai c'os gyis, ma
 gos pai bu mo drug beu bdun beu tsam mdses ñin yid du
 'on ba lhai bu mo dan adra ba mts'on sna lña las byas pa,
 na bza' gsol ba, rin po c'ei dbu rgyan la sogs pa rgyan
 du mai rgyan adug ciñ; de t'am. cad kyi p'yag na, la
 la me tog, la la bdug spos la sogs pai mc'od rdsas rnam
 pa sna ts'ogs t'ogs pas, bu nio rnam lha k'añ gi nañ
 du ras kyis mgo bo gtums nas agro yin adug pas; der
 Rin po c'e bas kvañ byon pas, rigs ñan gyis sgo beruñs
 kyi dbyug pa t'ogs nas byon du ma beug pas, der ts'am
 ts'om med par sgo p'ul nas, nañ du p'jin pas, k'o ran greñ
 nas brdeg ma nus par nañ du byon pa dan gtso mo gcig
 pa (47b) na re; iddhi bhei ña idha ña ki ai, zer "adiri sdod
 adi ts'o mk'a' agro yin" bya bar adug der gtso mo des glu
 skad bsgyur ba dan snar gyi bu mo ts'o rig ma beu drug
 gam lha mo ñi ñu ltar du me tog dan bdug spos la sogs
 pas mc'od rdsas sna ts'ogs kyis mc'od ciñ ñag gis glu len
 p'yag gis gar sgyur zabs kyi bro brduñ.

(47 bis, a) groñ k'yer c'en po dei mdun na mar la dur
 k'rod c'en po lña adug. dur k'rod dan po de ka ma ku
 ldan sar bya ba na bram ze la sogs pa ro gtsañ ma skyel
 ba cig adug. Dei 'og na P'a ga su bya bai dur k'rod gcig.
 (47 bis, b) de yañ t'añ bde zin sñoms pa la ri deu abur
 ba gcig adug. Dei k'a na mu stegs kyi lña k'añ cig
 adug, bcom ldan adas bDe mc'og gi bzugs gnas yin. dei
 'og na dur k'rod c'en po La gu ra bya ba adug ste De
 yañ c'os abyun gi dbyibs su adug. a li ka li mts'on pai
 brdar ñi ma dan zla bai gzugs brñan yod pa. de gñis
 kyi bar na ka ba adra ba gcig la rje btsun rnal abyor

mai rten rañ byuñ du byon pa geig bzugs. dei 'og na dur k'rod c'en po mi bkra, (48) sa ra bya ba byin brlabs šin tu c'e bai gnas bkra šis pai mts'an ma du ma dañ ldan pa geig yod. dei 'og na dur k'rod Si ti sa ra bya ba dpa' bo dañ mk'a agro rim kyis adu ba. Dur k'rod c'en po de rnam su žag aga' bzugs pai dge sbyor ap'el bar abyñ žiñ k'yad par du La gu ra dañ l'a ga su ra gñis su mañ du bzugs pas bogs šin tu c'e bar byuñ...groñ k'yer de na mu stags pa dañ nañ pai rnol abyor pa btsun pa dañ bram ze la sogs pai bsod sñoms pa mañ po adug. bsloñ bai dus ts'od ni k'yim gyi bdag mo de ñi ma dro' tsam la lañs nas, k'yim la p'yag gdar legs par byas ba, (48b) glañ ajud pas sa ts'un c'od la p'yag gdar byed. lar k'on gis k'yim t'ams cad dge adun gyi kun dga' ba kyan gtsañ ba, gyeñ la sogs la ri mo sna ts'ogs bris pa, gyos k'añ re logs na byas nas, der abras c'an btsos pa dan k'yim bdag mo dei til gyis mar me bzam po re k'yer, dri bzañs kyi spos me re btañ mk'ar sder geig tu abras c'an (-) ts'um pa re k'yer, p'yi rol tu 'oñs nas bza' ts'o k'iis byas nas ñi ma dan zla ba la me' od pa p'ul; de nas dhan p'yug c'en poi rten dan p'yi sgoi lha mo dan nan sgoi lha mo la me'od pa p'ul; de nas nañ du 'oñs nas k'yim bdag mo des abras c'an gñis nas, bza' mi geig la geig abags rtsog med par byas nas gza.' dei dus sman dri p'yin hyun ba dañ bsod sñoms pa ts'o sloñ du agro ba yin te; de yañ dso gi ts'oi zañs mai duñ lan gsun bus nas, p'yag ya geig tu ku ba k'yer, ya geig tu da ma ru k'yer nas, sgo rtsa geig beañs 'oñs nas, da ma ru de skad rnam pa sna ts'ogs pa geig bsgyur bas, bhi kša dhe dha rma kra'kar sai žes brjed pa.

(50a) Dsava lan dha ra bya de yul k'ams c'en po geig gi miñ du adug pas groñ k'yer gyi grans mi adug. Na ga ko te bya ba de Bod skad du klui mk'ar bya ba yin. gnas der zla ba lña tsam bzugs pas zas beud c'un' ba dañ

yan na nom (1) par gsol rgyu med par sku lus sin tu nan
 agyur zin, de nas Bod du byon te; k'a sin gi lam de ma
 yin pas, ñe lam gcig nas byon pas, gnas c'en Ku lu ta zhes
 bya ba gzigs par gzed nas, ñe lam de la ñi ma gñis byon
 pai sa na, Ki ri ram bya bai gnas na, grub t'ob c'en po khu
 pa ma dan mjal nas, c'os abrel žus pas, "na mo buddhāya
 namo dharmāya namo sanghāya" ces pas, dkon mc'og
 gsum gyi (2) skabs sgio gnan (50) "k'yod dan na gñis slob
 dpon Klu grub gyi slob ma, ido i je spun yin, Bod du soñ
 cig, sems can gyi don dpag tu med pa agrub pa yin."

Der gnas c'en Ku lu tar p'ebz pas, gnas c'en de yul ñi
 šu rtsa bzhi skui ak'oi loi nan lus la bkod na pus mo yin
 zin, de yan gnas kyi no bo si ddhi bya ba me tog ku mu
 tai ts'al c'en po yod cin, ido la sans rgyas kyi zabs rjes
 bzugs pa, gnas der mc'og t'un mons k'i dnos grub myur
 pa yin pas, bai c'ad kyan c'e gnas de na btsun pa gñis dan
 inal abyor pa cig bzugs adug de nas Gar šar p'el pas, de
 nas Ga ndha lai ri k'rod byon nas dbyai do ru bzugs pai
 dge sbyor la bogs sin tu c'e ba byun, de nas ston la Pi ti
 rTsan šod la t'on yons.

Travels of Örgyen ju

[P. 9 a] Pu rans gDon dmar nas p'yin pas Tise byan
 sgoi ñi ma p'ved la sleb byun gnas dkar gyi rgyal po
 Tiser ias pa lna bigyai nan du bsgoms De nas Ma
 p'am gyi mts'o la c'u at'un mžad

De nas, yul c'en po ñi šu rtsa bzhi bye biag rdo rjei lus
 la pus mo dan i kan pai mt'e ben(4) Kuluta žes pa'n Ma
 rui gnas la byon dei dus su, p'al pai ñin lam bdun
 bdun ned kyis ñi ma re la bead adug ste, lus sems la dal ba
 dan dub pa ran med. gnas dei zin skyon bud med sna nas
 rnag k'rag mai k'ur adsag pa gcig na re

(1) Ms. non

(2) Mss. gyis

(3) Ms. t'e bon

"k'yod dan po bla mai druñ du ma sdod.

de nas me'ed grogs kyi nañ du'n mi sdod.

na ađir sdod nas aťs'o ba sbyar gyi lo."

ter, na U rgyan la cis kyañ ađro mnos so. de nas, byar po de ri bo c'en po Garña tũ mar bsdad; de na, sman bzañ po du ma skyes, dños grub kyi c'u mig lña yod. de na, Bya rgod ces pa rgya ras pai sgom c'en smra ba bzañ po byas pa gcig ađug. nas kyañ t'eg pa sua ts'ogs kyi ađrel⁽¹⁾ lam t'ogs med du byas pa, der bžugs pai sgom c'en t'ams cad dgyes ađug... rgya ras pai sgom c'en mañs po dan sdoñs nas, yul ñi šu rtsa bžii spyi gtsug Dsva rar p'yin; de na řri nagara keťe zes bya bai gion k'yer c'en po yod. c'u kluñ gcig na sa c'os abyuñ lta bu yod. de la rko log⁽²⁾ bya mi ruñ zer. dei dur⁽³⁾ k'rod lañ gur zes pa na p'a bon t'od pa ađra ba la rJe btsun ma rañ byon bžugs. dei byañ na, Dsālamukhe zes pa lha gdoñ bstan na, t'ams cad me ru ađar grags pai rten yod. rgyal poi p'o brañ dan ñe bo na, mi řa pa ra zes pai dur k'rod na mi řa glu pa zes pai bdag ñid c'en po klu grub⁽⁴⁾ kyi p'ug yod. dei mdun na ni la brig řsa ces pa řin rgyad kyi ya cig⁽⁵⁾ yod. de la gñod pa byas na, ađ'ral la ať'i řiñ ađug gsuñ ño.....

ri de nas, zla gcig lho ru p'yin

gnas Dsva lan dha rai p'o bran na

zon ađod dgu byun bai ts'on ađus yod

nor řiñ sdug gcig kyan k'yer dbañ med....

Jā lan dha ra nas řag ñi šu p'yin pa na, Tsa nda bha ga zes pa řha řa li c'u ađug gi agram na I ndra nila ces pai gron k'yer yod. dei řar du rgya skyags kyi t'añ du ađug. Yañ nub gcig bud med gcig gis mts'on mañ po sgyi'u gcig tu glu bas ađog gin ađug. Nañ par sog poi rta pa bži dan p'rad. cig gis ste ltag gcig gis brduñs pas, nas brtul řugs btsoñs pas k'os na rañ gi sgom t'ag gis skye ñi ma p'yed

(1) Ms. *abul*.

(2) Mss. *blug*

(3) Ms. *k'rod omi*

(4) Mss. *klu gru*

(5) Mss. *gya kyi gya cig*

tsam bskyigs. bran la rdog t'os bter der mig gis ci yan mi
mt'on bar son; dei dus rlun sems a t'un⁽¹⁾ la bsdus pas
dbu⁽²⁾ mar ts'ud adug. dPal yes bsam pa la ai adug bsam,
pa byun adug. de nas, yan nar bskyed nas, 'ud man po
btan smod⁽³⁾ pai lta stans kyis gzir bas, k'o k'a zol son nas,
adar zin adug. grogs ts'o na re: adi giub t'ob gcig adug

In ta nila zes pa de nas ñi ma gcig gis Bhrai mi Jar
sleb. de nas, si lar sleb De nas Sog poi gron du sleb ste,
min ijed adug. Sa de yan c'ad rgya sog adies par adug.
La la na Hin dhu zes pa rgya gar pa yod, la la na Mu sui
man zes pa Sog po yod k'a cig na adies pa 'n t'an la yod
pa kun Mo gol la do blta ba adug De nas k'a c'ei c'u
bzugs gtsan po gcig yod De rgal nas Bja ho ra zes pa
gron k'yer abum p'rag bdun bu yod zer par sleb. De na
gron dpon sog po Ma lig kai dha rina zes adug. De nas
ñin gcig gis Nahu gi zes pa sman ts'ai ri c'en po adug
De nas K'a c'e, Ma lo 'o, Ghodsar, Dho kur, Dsāla dhar
rnams kyī ts'a agro zer. Dsā la dha rai yan de nas ts'a
ts'on man po 'on zin adug Ts'a 'ons sa de gzun lam
ajigs pa ñun ba pts'o ba mod pa grogs man ba p'al c'e ba
na ts'on adus kyan yod pai adug gsun.

de nas, ñin gcig gis Bja ho lar sleb

c'ce de nas zag gcig nub tu p'yan

Na'u tñi sman ts'ai ri bo yod

ts'a ts'od gros gcig kyan k'yer ba med

gsun de nas, ñin gcig gis Ma la ko ter sleb. der, ra ni Blu
dse te bhir zes pa la blans pas, zas rgyags gon iggyu la sogs
stei gin adug. de mu tig abyun bai rgya mts'oi sgoi
giags. de nas, igyal po Hu la hui lha k'an bzens adug.
der rtse bo c'e yan skye

De nas zag gsum nuñ tu lam,

Ma la ko tai gron k'yer na

riu c'en mu tig abyun bai sgo

ñin kun sa las skye ba yod

sman t'un gcig kyan kyer med

(1) Ms at'un

(2) Ms dbus

(3) Ms smods

gsuñ de nas, byañ nub tu zag lña p'yin pa dan Ru ka la zes
pai groñ yod. de na, Ra ni so ma dhe ba bya bai lam
rgyags stër ba yod. de nas, zag bzis Ra dsa hu ra du sleb.
ŧle U rgyan gyi sgo bzii geig yin zer. gžan Ni la dan Pur
so, dan Ka'o ka zes pa yod zer.

Ra dsa hur du bsod sñoms byas nas, bza' bsam tsa na,
abras t'ams cad grog mor soñ, yañ t'eb geig abu ru soñ
adug. dPal ye la bstan pas, skyug bro nas, bza' ba ma
byuñ. mig btsums la "zo" byas pas, nas zos pai lhag ma
abras dan rgun abrum du soñ adug. K'oñ gis ma
gsol bai bar c'ad ma ts'or žin mi t'ub pa byuñ gsuñ.
groñ dei nub p'yogs na Sindhur abab. de Tisei señ ge
k'a nas abab pai c'u bži ya⁽¹⁾ cig yin zer. De nas, mar yul
nas žugs te, Zañs dkar dan Pu rig dan stabs su K'a c'ei
byañ aBru žai yul nas byañ ste, sTag gzig nas rgyud
U rgyan du 'oñ zer. geig la geig ajuś nas, c'u bo Sin dhu
gru k'ar⁽²⁾ byon pas gru nañ du 'oñ, nas beug ñan pa la
"gru t'on" byas pas des "c'og ste, c'u t'on nas Hor du
adug zer; gsad dogs yod" zer ñed ac'i pas mi ajijs byas
pas btan ño. De yan⁽³⁾ c'ad U rgyan gyi sa c'ar byed;
de la groñ k'yer k'ri p'rag dgu yod lo. De rañ na Dhu
ma t'a la las gžan la U rgyan mi zer la adug. de dus
U rgyan de Hor gyis beom ma t'ag geig tu adug gsuñ. c'u
de t'on nas ka la bur bya bar adug. der srod la p'yin
pas Hor du adug zer nas p'o mo kun gyis rdo c'ar byas; der
šin sdoñ geig gi gseb⁽⁴⁾ tu yib pas do nub gañ du'ñ mi
agro zer t'ams cad bkyes soñ. de nub c'ar c'en po byuñ
ste mi k'yim gau gis kyañ ma ts'or bar srañ k'a nas p'ar
bros p'yin. U rgyan nañ gi sTag gzig yin gsuñ. De nas
Hor las⁽⁵⁾ lros nas yul du ldog pas bza' mi gñis bu c'uñ
geig k'ur, ba glañ dan rñ lug ts'an cig ded agro yin
adug: "ñed Bod kyī c'os pa U rgyan skor du agro ba yin.
k'yed la babs byas nas Hu ma t'a la ts'un c'ad ñas
skyel t'ub kyis" zer.

(1) Ms *gñ*(2) Mss *glu k'ar*(3) Ms *yan*(4) Ms. *lseb*(5) Ms *la*

Sindhu at'on nas Bhi kro bha sar sleb. de nas ñin geig
gis Ka bo kor sleb. groñ dei mi t'ams cad dge sems ñes
c'e ats'o ba mod; sindhu ra rañ abyun ba adug. dei dpon la
Ra dsa de va bya ba adug. De U rgyan p'al c'e ba la
dbañ hyed pa adug.

Groñ de nas zla geig nub tu lam
C'u Sin dhu brgal bai nub p'yogs na
Ka 'o ka yi groñ k'yer na
Sindhu ra yi abyañ gnas yod
krik geig kyañ k'yer dbañ med.(1)

de nas yon bdag de pas yul du ston mo bzañ po byas Bho
ne le ñes ñi ma geig gi bar du skyel mi btañ. de yan(2) c'ad
la k'oi yi ge mi adi dañ adis sa c'a adi dañ adir skyol
ñes pa Dhu ma t'a lai gnas mc'og tu legs par skyal lo.

Bhe ne le nas Siddha bhor sleb. de nas la c'un geig
brgal bas, ñi ma geig gis K'a rag k'ar sleb. De yan c'ad
la so t'añ ñes zer. abras sa lu bzañ po dañ ñin t'og lyañ
po du ma skye; abru sna sna ts'ogs sman, rgyun du rma
byai mgrin pa ltar sno ñir ajam pai rtsa dañ dri dañ
k'a dog p'un sum ts'ogs pai me tog gis k'ebbs pa yod. de
nas Ko dam bhar U rgyan gyi c'u ajug yod. De ñar p'yogs
na I lo par pa ta ces pa adsam bu gliñ gi ri rnams kyi
mc'og sman sa las skye ba la adi na mi skye ba gañ yañ
med. rtsa ba dañ sdoñ po dañ lo ma me tog gis mdses pa
Sa ra bha la sogs ri dags(3) yañs su rgyu ba. rgun abrum
gyi gnas ts'al p'un sum ts'ogs pa. Yid du 'oñ bai bya
sna ts'ogs sñan pai mdañs kyi zab mo sgrogs na grub pa

Sa de nas nub tu ñag bdun lam

K'a rag k'a snai Ilo la

Sa ra bha ri la ak'rol ba dañ

rgun abrum gyi nags ts'al ak'rigs pa yod.

ñas rdsas la ñen pa byas pa med,

de nas ñag gñis kyi Ra yi k'ar sleb lo. de rgyal po In dra
bhotei k'ab ñal yin zer. da lta groñ gñis su c'ad adug.

(1) So Ms., but the verse is defective; perhaps k'yer bar

(2) Ms. yañ

(3) Ms. dag

gcig ni mi k'yim drug cu tsam adug; gcig na bzi bcu tsam adug. dei byañ na Mañ ga la 'or bya ba rgyalpo In dra botis bzeñs pai gtsug lag k'añ t'ub dbaṅ dañ sgiol ma dañ ajig rten dbaṅ p'yug gi sku rdo las bsgrub pa du ma gzug pa yod. ñas rgyañ nas mt'oñ U rgyan gyi sa c'a bags c'ags at'ug par⁽¹⁾ adug. Sa de rnams su t'a mal gyi rtogs pa re re tsam byuñ ma k'ad la p'ra men ša zai mk'a' agro ma du ma mdun du reñs la sleb bzai zer ba adug. lta yi k'ai rtsa na, c'u bran mis t'ar ba tsam cig lhor abab ciñ adug. de brgal pas brag sna gcig la grub c'en Lā ba pai bzugs gnas yod. dei steñ na mk'a' agro mas rdoi c'ar p'ab pa la sdigs mdsul⁽²⁾ bstan pas rdo ba nam mk'a' la c'ags pa spra tsam du adug. de nas slob dpon kyis mk'a' agro ma lug tu byin kyis brlabs pas yul k'ams der bud med ma byuñ nas skyes pa kun adus btsul bas ma rñed. slob dpon lug ats'o bal bregs nas Lā ba sku la gsol bas Lā ba pa zes grags pa adug. der p'yang p'ul nas, gtor bar zus pas, "c'ad ma k'as len nam" gsuñ, "len" byas pas, "mgo lham gon, sna la sna leu c'ug sprul gyi ga ša gyis" gsuñs pas, yul c'os su soñ, da lta de bzin adug. ña la der bud med gcig na re: "k'yod I ndra bhote yin" zer byuñ gsuñ. ñe gnas Ses rin na re: "In dra bhoti dañ Lā ba pa gñis dus mi mts'uñs sam" zus pas "c'en po dañ mi mts'uñs te, Indrabhodhi gñis byuñ adug. ña c'uñ ba yin pa adra" gsuñ.

Ra yi k'a ts'uñ c'ad, p'ra men gyi gliñ du adug; bud med t'ams cad kyis gañ adod sprul agyur šes par adug, ša k'rag la dga' zin, skye dgui srog dañ mdañs ap'rog nus par adug.

De nas, ñi ma p'yed kyis, Dhu ma t'a lar sleb. de U rgyan sprul pai gnas kyis ño bo. gnas de mt'oñ ba tsam gyis, 'ur nas rtsis med la soñ adug. Dei mdun na, Mañ ga la dhevī bya ba tsan tan las rañ byon pai rje btsun ma gzug. dei druñ du ñal pas bar c'ad cig 'oñ bar šes nas, dPal ye la "dbyug c'os cig bya yis šog" byas te ~~ñas~~.

(1) Ms. *apui*(2) Ms. *sdig adsub*

adod. Nañ par, srañ k'a gsum du gnas nas byañ la k'oñ soñ. Lho la ñas p'yin pa, bsod sñoms byas pas, ña la bud med du mas sñon bñu me tog dor sin dhu rai krik adebs rgyud sde nas gsuñs pai brda byed ciñ nus pa bton la ats'o ba sin tu mod par abyun. k'oñ la mts'on t'ogs ña mñ po's skor nas de gsad byas adug. ñas rgyug nas p'yin, ñai grogs yin byas nas btañ. gNas de la mi k'yim lña brgya tsam adug. Bud med t'ams cad kyis sprul bsgyur ses. "k'yed su yin" byas "rñal abyor ma" zes zer adug. Mañ ga la dhevi druñ du ñal bsad nas, bud med geig nare "mo la adod pa sten lo" ñas dbyug pa geig brgyab pas broñ soñ.

Nañ par mos, ñed gñis ka la spos kyis bñu me tog gtor me'od pa hyed ciñ adug; de ts'ul k'rimñ rin po c'e bñuñ bai p'an yon du adug. gnas der, na c'uñ geig la mig gsum yod pa geig adug. yañ geig la ña mts'an dñal ba na gñuñ (1) druñ ak yil ba mts'al gyis bris pa lta bu dñar señ de yod pa geig adug. de nare "rañ abyun rñal abyor ma, ña rañ las t'ams cad byuñ ba yin" zer bas sog po geig na re. "K'yod rañ byuñ yin na, ñai yul nas ka c'a geig loñ" dañ zer bas de ma t'ag mda' geig dañ Hor zva geig blans hyuñ bas, sog po ha las adug. bud med de rGyu ma ta lai rgyal poi bñsun mor adug gsuñ. Groñ dei bud med rñams kyi nañ nas geig rñal abyor ma yin zer ba adug. de ño ses dka' na'ñ groñ k'yer gyi bud med ma lus pai lag nas zas re slañs zas pas dños grub re abyun ñes par adug. ñas Ka bo kai groñ du, bud med Sa luñ ta pu tsu zes pa geig la blañs pas, t'ug pa p'or gañ hyuñ ba at'uñs pas, de ma t'ag la, sai dkyil ak'or gyos,..... gnas de na, rñal abyor ma c'en mor grags pa So ni dañ Ga su ri. Mutañgi, Ta sa, si zes pa bzi adug. So ni aGro bzañs su adug. gnas dei nub, Ka ma 'oñ ka zes pai gañs rñal abyor ma t'ams cad kyi p'o brañ yin zer ba adug. dei nañ na grub pai p'ug Ka ma la glu pa bya ba adug. dei nañ, ña k'ro bo sku mdog mt'iñ k'a rus pai rgyan can

spyan gsum ñi mai zer ltar gzi brjid a-bar ba gri t'od
 a-dsin pa a-dug, de dPal ye bDe me'og yin pa a-dra, gnas
 dei sar la Bhir sma sa zes pa dur k'rod brgyad kyi ya
 ba, (1) ; p'ag rgod dan dug sprul dan dur bya dan ka ka
 dan lee spyan la soggs pa gdug pai mk'a agro sprin ltar
 a-du pa ajigs su run ba skyi bun byed pa yod. de nas byan
 cuñ (2) zad na o ka sa brikša ces pa šin brgyad kyi ya
 gcig yod. dur k'rod de las cuñ zad lho na Dhu mun k'u ces
 pa zin' skyon rdo las ran byun ba yod. Šin dei rtsa na
 Ka pa la bho jon zes pai rdo gcig la Ts'añs pa dan Drag
 soggs rdo la ran byun du byon pa yod. de nas Mañ ga la
 brikša ces pa bkra šis kyi šin yin zer ta lar sdon po gcig
 yod. dei rtsa ba na Mañ gha la pa ni ces pa bkra šis pai
 c'u mig lhor a-bar pa gcig yod. dei sar na śrī par ba ta ces
 pa señ ldan gi nags skye pai ri c'en po ts'am min pa cig
 a-dug. dei nub na, Mañ gha la pa ni c'u a-jug la, Mu la sai
 ko ta ces pa sa gru gsum cig yod. de na rje btsun ma ran
 a-byun de bzugs par a-dug ste. Hor gyi d-mag gi ajigs da
 lta Dhu ma ta la na bzugs a-dug. dei drun du, bud med man
 po a-dus nas me'od pa byed cin ki li tsili sgra sgrogs, nus
 pa dan mi ldan pa rnam's dpa' skor zin skal pa can rjes su
 a-dsin par a-dug. aDsam bui glin na dPal gyi ri beu gñis
 yod pai rtsa ba de yin zer, dei gram gyi lun pa la 'n śrī
 lun zer ba sñan gsuñ. U igyan gyi sgo na, rgyal po Indra
 bodhis bzeñs pai gtsug lag k'añ grig tu zag aga' ñal ba.,
 mk'a' agro ma a-dus, c'os ston pa, de U rgyan sprul pai zin
 ran du yod. de ru bsad nas

- Sa de nas zag bzi nub tu p'yin
 rdo reg pa med pai nub p'yogs na
 c'e Ko dam ba ri byan gi p'yogs
 gañs Ka ma dho kai sar p'yogs na
 gnas U rgyan sprul pai zin k'ams yod
 gnas gsum mk'a' agro mi gzugs can
 zag med bde bai loñs spyod ster
 ñas a-dod yon c'e du gñer ba med

(1) Ms. *gya ba = ya cig*,(2) Ms. *byun*

gsuñ Sprul yul Dhu ma ta la ⁽¹⁾ ru
 bcom ldan aḍas byin gyis brlabs.
 gañ zag brgyud pa ma lags pas ⁽²⁾
 gnas gsum mk'a' aḡroi gdams pa t'ob,
 zab lam rten aḡrel ci lu aḡ'ug.

ces gsuñs. de nas, dPal ye na re. "Yid c'es so. rañ re Bod
 du aḡeñ" zer bas, ñas "Sa t'ag riñ nas, lus srog³ la ma
 bltas par, gnas aḡdir sñags te, sñags riñ mc'og ⁽¹⁾ par byuñ,
 ña ni t'od pa aḡdi ru aḡbogs; min kyañ, lo gsum cis kyañ,
 bsdod" byas pas "ñid mi aḡgro na, da Ra dsa hu ra t'ug
 cis kyañ skyol" zer nas 'oñs pas grogs ts'oñ pa aḡdra yod
 na re "k'yed kyi grogs aḡdis skad mi šes, bsoñ sñoms kyañ
 mi k'ugs aḡdug. k'yod med na, aḡdis go mi cod" zer nas bla'
 ma gcig gis bsdus pai grogs gnas c'en po la 'oñs nas; da
 bar c'ad la lam du šor na, ño ts'a sñam nas, mar 'oñs žag
 lña nas Ūha rir sleb. de nas žag⁽¹⁾ bduñ gyis Ūr šar sleb.
 de nas ts'oñ pa aḡdra dañ aḡgrogs nas, dur k'rod gtum⁽¹⁾
 drag gi sgor sleb pas k'oñ rnams ltas, "abyuñ poi gnod
 pa 'oñ, mi rnams aḡc'i" zer skrag c'es aḡdug. ñas "ma
 aḡjig šig; gnod pa nas bsrus pas c'og" byas, dbyug pai
 byin rlabs byas pas ci yañ ma hyuñ.

gnas de nas, žag bduñ šar du lam
 dur k'rod gtum drag lho yi c'ar
 Ūr ša dpal gyi rgyal k'ams na
 aḡbru bdag po med su dga' k'yer
 aḡbru rdog po gcig kyañ k'yer ba med gsuñ.

de nas žag gsum gyis Tsi k'ro ta žes par sleb nas, ri
 brag gi c'u c'en po cig yod. der ts'oñ pas nad na rigs t'an
 cig aḡt'ab nas, gñis gsad gcig rmas aḡdug. der nas gsañ bai
 bdag poi tiñ ñe aḡdsin gsal btat¹ nas, lta steñs k'jis gzir nas,
 p'al gum soñ. de min na, p'an ts'un k'a bzuñ nas, t'ams
 cad gsod par aḡdug gsuñ de nas ñin gcig gis Ra mi ko

(1) Ms. *tu ma*.

(2) Ms. *quñ*

(3) Ms. *c'og*

(4) Not in the Ms.

(5) Ms. *rgyun* but in the following verses *gtum drag*

tir sleb. dei c'u p'ar ga na,(1) yul ñer bñii Ra smi svari
rdo rje lus la. Smin mai dbus te, de ru sleb. dei k'a c'ei
c'u bñugs. ðaṅ sa mdai c'u aḍsom pai bar smin brag aḍra
ḡba cig yod.

de nas(2) žag bñi šar du lam

Ras smi svari smin mai gnas

spraṅ k'yim du gsos nas c'aṅ du aṭs'od

Zan spags gcig kyaṅ k'yer med ces

gsuṅ. de nas, K'a c'ei gtsaṅ po gyas su bcug nas rldo rje
nu la žes bya ba luṅ pa dog po gcig la, žag dgu 'oṅs pas
K'a c'er sleb te. sa gñi lag mt'il lta mñani pa mdses pa, šar
nub tu riṅ ba; byaṅ p'yogs la Ka ma pa ra zes pai nam
mk'a' ltar ðaṅ bai mts'o gnas pa, me tog yid du 'on ba
du mas mdses pa smin pai aḡbras bus dud pai(3) ljon šin
p'un sum ts'ogs pas ak'rigs pa, lo tog sna ts'ogs smin
pas bkod pa, loṅs spyod du mas aḡyor pa, rig pai aḡyun
gnas t'ub pai stan pa rin po c'es c'ags pa skye dgu kun
kvaṅ dkar poi c'oṅs kyi spyod pa, sans rvas paṇḍita mun
po bñugs pa stoṅ pa ñid kyi luṅ bstan pai gnas
ste(4). de nas Šri na ga ra žes pai gron k'yer snon
aḡbum p'rag sum cu rtsa drug tu grags. ða Hor
gyis beom nas, sum cu las med lo. de nas, Va ti pur
žes pa gur kum skye bai sleb. de nas Bhe ji bha rai sleb.
de la aḡbum p'rag dgur grags.(5) ðer paṇḍita aḡbum mi
Šri la sogs pa la bde mc'og la sogs gsan sñags man du žus.
gron k'yer du bsod sñom la p'yin pas, byis pa maṅ pos
so p'ag gis bted. Na c'uṅ gñis kyi skyabs nas k'aṅ par
k'rid za ma sbyin(6) pas, de k'yim bdag rgan po cig 'oṅs
nas, "žag gcig ma bsad na ñed ño ts'a lo" bsñen bskur
byas nas, "k'yed ji aḡra yin lo" "ñed Bod kyi c'oṅs pa,
U rgyan bskor du p'yin pa yin" byas pas k'o c'a t'e ts'om

(1) The proper form would be *p'ai k'a na* (2) *Ms gnas*

(3) *Ms dud pas* (4) *Ms dh* (5) Here the *Ms* inserts
de paṇḍita aḡbum p'rag dgu grags which looks as a repetition of,
the former sentence or shall we translate *and as many aḡdits?*

(6) *Ms byin*

cig skyes nas, ban c'uñ cig bkug byuñ. "c'os pa yin na, c'os gan šes lo" "mñon pa šes" ts'ad ma mñam byas nas, ābrel gtam byas pas, bden par ādug bzañ. "de mñ ci šes" zer "dPal dus kyī āk'or lo šes" byas pas brdsun zer te pa, las ādug, bden byas pas bden brdsun blta ba ban c'uñ gcig bkug byuñ glenš pas ña ños mk'as par byuñ. Yañ rgan po gcig bkug byuñ. dei blo la Dr̥ med 'od k'a⁽¹⁾ ton⁽¹⁾ byed pa cig ādug. dei k'yo k'a c'e tsam na mk'as šes grags. Mo dan ābrel gtam byas pas, ña dkar ap'rañ miu, pa byañ po ma byuñ. Mo na re "mk'as pa ci šes sam ñan ādug" zer. ñas "šes bya t'ams cad rtsa bžin dor nas, U rgyan la sogs gnas c'en sñegs pa yin brjed ādug pa" byas pas, bden Bod kyī pañditar ādug bzañ re gda' lo..... sñar gyi byis pa de pas, Ilor gyi rtogs miñ bsgrags pas, rgyal pos gsan nas ādsin mi btañ ādug pas⁽²⁾ nam p'yeñ pa nas nam ma lañs bar la, rgyal po la 'gžan c'os, Ilor ma yin žus" te ma ñan. der yon bdag la gžan ruams kyis bya yañ yañ btañ pas, yon bdag na re. "lros pa grāg" zer te K'a c'e pai c'as su bžugs nas, c'u c'en po cig gi gru k'ar sleb pas, a tsa ra sño hriñs se ba⁽³⁾ sum cu tsam ādug pa na re. 'u cag ādod pa ādi ru byuñ" zer te gñis ka bzuñ gos bžugs "ñed la ci byed pa" byas pas "rgyal poi sku druñ du gsod, der ma sleb par ci yañ mi byed lo" der, rgyal poi druñ du gsod pa pas, ādir ši ba skyid byas te. gñis ka k'a bub tu k'u ts'ur brtsegs pa la mgo bžag nas, ñal pas, k'o pa rañ "ādi ltar byas ādug, rañ re zan za ddoñ" zer nas soñ bas. bros pas, 'ur nas sa la mi ābab pa lta bui mgyogs pa byuñ, rluñ ats'ub gcig byuñ bas, rjes kyañ ma mñon; c'u dal ba gcig la rluñ bzuñ nas p'yin pas, c'u la mi byiñ ba lta bui sla pas, p'aṅ k'ar sleb. Der ba glañ rdsi byis pa mañ'poi gseb tu de ñin bsdad. mts'au mo rtsa gseb tu ñal nas, nañ par bsod sñoms la p'yin pas, gos dug ādra ster mk'an byuñ.

(1) ~~Ms.~~ *Ms. k'a don*

(2) *Ms. pai*

(3) *perhaps for gseb = signum pluralis.*

gnas de nas zla ba gcig sar du lam
 K'a c'e k'ri brtan Varipur
 gur kum žin du skye ba yo
 ge sar gcig kyañ k'yer ba med

*K'a c'e nas, la gcig 'oñs pai ts'e, jo mo sle t'ul gyon pai gseb na bud med skra lo car t'o re ba lña brgya tsam agro yin adug. "K'yed gañ nas gañ du agro" byas pas: "Ü rgyan nas sBud bkrur agro" "Skyes c'en, k'yed kyi p'rin las bsGrub pa yin lo", de ma t'ag mi suañ bar soñ. dus p'yis mk'an po bsgrub rin na re: "Jo mo adi rnams dei dus kyi mk'a' agro ma kun legs se" žus pas, "yin pa adra" gsuñ.

de nas, Dsa lan dha rar sleb; žag aga' nas, K'a c'ei ts'on pa byuñ. "K'yed gañ nas 'oñs lo" "ñed Bod kyi c'os pa Ü rgyan skor du p'yin"; ma lam K'a c'e la 'oñs te, k'yed kyi rgyal po des ñed gsal" byas pas, ño rnams ño mts'ar skyes. "o na k'yed grub t'ob tu yod par adug; rgyal pos adsin tu btañ bas, nam mk'a' dsa bžin yal bžin yal soñ." zer. ño mts'ar c'e žes bsñen bkur dañ abul ba bzau po byas pas, Dsa la dharar kyañ "Bod kyi c'os pa Ü rgyan ak'or ba rdsu ap'ral t'ob pa adug ces grags pa byuñ.

De nas mar yul du p'ebz.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

P. 4 l 19 for: "it is not very late" read: "it is rather late."

P. 8 l. 24 for: "gŚing tan can" read: "gin tan can."

P. 9 l. 13 for "1200 d.C." read: "1204 A.D."

P. 14 l. 18 for: "bKa rgyud" read: "bKa' rgyud."

P. 16 n. 2 l. 6 for: "t'ar p. ño mts'ar snni ba" read "t'ar na mts'ar gsañ ba"

• P. 18 n. 25 The *māhātmya* of Gandhola has been translated and edited after this book of mine had been sent to the press by Dr. Schubert. "Der tibetische Māhātmya des Walfahrtsplatzes Trilok-nāth," in *Artibus Asiae*, vols. IV and V.

• P. 18 n. 27 l. 3 and p. 21 n. 35 l. 5 for "dpa' po" read "dpa' bod"

P. 19 l. 5 for. "and interpreter who told " read "an interpreter carrying also the provisions who "

P. 20 l. 3 for "One of the Mon pa being tied" read "One of the Mon pa leading the way and being tied "

P. 22 l. for "meet here" read. "meet, here "

P. 29 l. 14 for "Ñag dbañ dGyamts'o" read "Ñag dban rgya mts'u"

P. 29 l. 18 According to the researches of my pupil Doctor L. Petech (*A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta 1939, p. 147) Sen ge rnam rgyal lived up to 1640 or 1641.

P. 31 l. 20 for. "to Kaboko, Ka' oka and Siddhabor" read: "Siddhabor, Kaboka, Ka'oka."

P. 32 l. 2 for "ri rdson" read: "ri rdson."

P. 32 l. 6 for "Suget'an" read. "Suget'an."

P. 35 l. 9 for. "Muşambı" read: "Muşamlı."

P. 41 n. 1 l. 3 for. "Rim c'em" read. "Rin c'en "

P. 42 n. 9 for: "dbyar be" read. "dbyar ba."

P. 42, n. 10 for: "Garnatama" read. "Garṇatama."

P. 43 n. 12 for: "Guhasamājatikā" read: "Guhyasamājatikā "

P. 44 n. 17 for: "Bhāga" read: "Bhāgā."

P. 46 l. 1 for "Nalcugrı" read: "Na'ugrı "

- P. 46 n. 29 for: "Paṇḍavas" read: "Pāṇḍavas."
- P. 47 l. 27 for: "Kacoka" read: "Ka'oka."
- P. 47 l. 1 for: "devi" read: "devi."
- P. 47 l. 8 transpose "herbs" after: "medical"
- P. 47 n. instead of "33a" read: "31a."
- P. 49 n. 40a for: "Tu the nas Hu matà la" read: "in the manu-
cript Humat'ala."
- P. 51 l. 1 for: "always trees" read: "meadows green."
- P. 51 n. 45 l. 4 for: "Manoglaor" read: "Manglaor."
- P. 52; note 48 should be added at the end of note 49 of the follow-
ing page.
- P. 55 l. 17 for: "Kamaconka" read: "Kama'onka."
- P. 55 l. 19 for: "Kamalagupta" read: "Kamalaglupa."
- P. 56 n. 58 l. 12 for: "Sun Yung" read "Sung Yun."
- P. 58 l. 23 for: "63" read: "63a."
- P. 59 n. 65 l. 5 for: "stag ts'n" read: "Stag ts'an."
- P. 59 n. 65 for: "Rājatarāṅgini" read: "Rājatarāṅgiṇi."
- P. 60 l. 8 for: "In the house of the village they nursed (him)
and boiled wine" read: "in the house of a beggar.. ."
- P. 61 l. 20 for "for student" read: "for a student"
- P. 61 l. 1 for: "tefer" read: "refers."
- P. 61 n. 69 for: "Vatipur" read. "Varipur."
- P. 62 l. 21 for "by that boy" read: "By the boy (who had
thrown bricks upon him)."
- P. 62 l. 9 for "pint" read: "point."
- P. 65 l. 5 for: "entres" read: "enters."
- P. 65 l. 16 for: "presided" read: "presided over."
- P. 67 l. 27 for: "Vajravārahi" read: "Vajravārāhi."
- P. 68 l. 5 and p. 69 n. 20 for: "Srinagara" read: "Śrinagara"
- P. 70 l. 22 for "Kalhan's read: "Kalhaṇa's."
- P. 71 l. 12 for: "mahamudra" read: "mahāmudra."
- P. 72 n. 43a for: "Chandrabhaga" read: "Chandrabhāgā."
- P. 74 l. 8 for: "blu" read: "blue."
- P. 78 l. 2 for: "sannyasins" read: "sannyāsins"
- P. 81 l. 9 for: "yogini" read: "yogini."
- P. 82 n. 66 for: "Ruta" read: .Rutā."

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